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4 October 1974

XAA2-35686

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Former Records of Ray Murphy

1. The attached documents are part of a large collection of records held by Ray Nurphy during his tenure as an official of the Department of State. He transferred all of his records to CIA upon his retirement in the mid-1960's. The documents of that collection which did not meet the retention criteria of the DDO or the Office of Security were destroyed. While those which were of utility have been retained and accessioned as appropriate to the DDO records system.

2. The attached records concern
Harold ISAACS
who is the subject of 201-0018446 and should be classified to that file.

M. Gaul Hartman

M. Paul Hartma C/CIRA/RS

Attachment

4. Oct 74 201-18446

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HEW WARRES, New York City, BOUPCE: october 22, 1936 - Page 12

EUROPE'S CRISTS; JAPAN PREPARES

By Hensu Chan

*** There are numerous American journalists of different political color and shades of opinion who are "cooperating" in this way with Japanese imperialism, but whoever has followed the writings of herold Isaaca, Alexander Buchmen, Frank Class and Wilbur Burton in The China Press, The China Weekly Review, Asia, Pacific Affeirs, New International, etc., realizes that these American frotakyiet journalists are the most victous and most dangerous of the whole lot of reactionary journalists.

diding behind a barrage of Marxist phraseology (which nous of them has yet learned to manipulate with facility). these people are energetically conducting a campaign of lies against the Communist International, the Chinese Communist Forty, the Doviet Union, the Chinese Soviets and the Chiques Hed Army, a campaign which sime to undermine the confidence of the outside world in the Chinese Soviet novement and the Red Army.

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SUR COMMISSI ACTIVITIES FILES Date . Oct. 23.1957

SOURCE : DAILY WORKER

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TROTZKYITE BOOK MOURNS OVER CHINESE REVOLUTION

By ROBERT FRIEDMAN

The presses are spewing forth anti-Chinese books these deys at a pace which bids to match the anti-Soviet torum. All the 'old China hands who served Alvestern imperialism as banker, soldier, spy, or whatever in the Orient are now busy at the typewriter, engaged in profitable vilification of 450, 000,000 people because they decided to take their fate in their own hands and build for themselves.

One book which deserves, even under the cynical and opportunist reign of capitalism, some special prize for adaptability is Harold D. Isaacs: Tragedy, of the Chinese Chinage revolution, and sequence of the Chinese revolution and sequence of the Chinese revolution and sequence of the Chinese revolution and sequence of the Chinese revolution. This nonsense, which would rule out every political alliance in his-tory on the chance that today's

Revolution.

Published first in 1938 as an avovedly Trotskyite tract (complete with introduction by Trotsky) is ironic in view of the fact that workers in 1927 a betraval by Stalin and the Chinese Communists, the same book emerges now, its ironic in view of the fact that discredited gangster save only in the very same Chinese workers of Issues' political mentions, the very same Chinese workers will go about their business building socialism, unconcerned by Issues' tears for the tragedy of Issues' tears for the tragedy of the with the murky intricacies.

THE TRACEDY OF THE CHI- of devious Trotskylte polemics,
NESE REVOLUTION. By Isaacs book has been reissued.
Harold D. Issacs. Stanford Uniparity to cash in on the hate-China
racket, and parity because any
stick is useful to B ig Business
By ROBERT FRIEDMAN

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Enclosure No. 1 To Der toh No. 3317

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1 Ta Yong Yi Ping Hutung Feiping, China. Oct. 5, 1934.

Mr. T. A. Bisson 136 Claremont Avenue Mount Vernon, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Bisson:

I have seen the correspondence exchanged between Mr. Class and yourself regarding the contributions you collected for the China Forum. A draft for the sum in full will be sent to you this week.

I do not know in the name of whom or what Miss Smedley speaks of the China Forum. Since she was not in China at the time the Forum Suspended, nor has she corresponded with me on the subject, I consider it necessary to place before you and the other contributors an account of the circumstances in which the Forum ceased publication. Since you apparently gathered the contributors together in a meeting to hear what Miss Smedley had to say, I would appreciate it deeply if you would gather them once more to hear my account. The enclosed is a copy of a letter sent by me last May to the Chinese Communist Party. It has been published in China in a Chinese translation and copies have been sent abroad but has not been published in English as far as I know. I do not know the names of the people who were good enough to contribute to the Forum but their interest in the matter warrants placing before them the story of what happened to the magazine. I trust, out of simple fairness to me, you will be good enough to give them this opportunity.

I greatly regret any inconvenience or embarrassment to which you have been put in this matter. I do hope, however, that my letter will enlighten you and your friends and enable you to appreciate the difficulties which have arisen. I know of no project to revive the China Forum at the present time. Should such occur, the resultant publication would be of a considerably different character from the one I edited, as will be obvious from the facts given in my letter to the C. P. I think people who are interested in supporting the revolutionary movement here should know these facts.

Once again, I appreciate all the trouble you have gone to in this matter.

Did you ever, incidentally, receive the article "Fascism in China" and the newsletter which I mailed to July 13 last?

Yours sincerely,

enol.

(Harold R. Isaace)

(Copied by RD)

RECUED L.

H/A ATT 13 TO XAA2-38636

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Letter of H. R. leages to the C.C.P. concern-

To the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party:

The two-year period of my extra-organizational collaboration with the Chinese Communist Party has come to an end and the China Forum which I founded and edited during that time has been forced to suspend publication. In the interest of our whole movement as well as in my personal interest, I consider it necessary to record here and publish the history of the China Forum and the circumstances of its suspension. You refused me the opportunity to lay the matter before the membership of the party even when I offered to do so in your own organs and not through the columns of the Forum. When, wrongly, I permitted the Forum to go down in silence, you turned around and in your organs and near organs in China and abroad you proceeded with the usual slanders of "betrayer" and "counter-revolutionary". In so doing you didn't have the courage or the simple honesty to state that you pre-sented the China Forum with an ultimatum and forced its suspension because in reply its editor raised questions which are being placed before the whole movement today by the International Left Opposition. Nor did you state that you deliterately smashed the Forum for this reason despite my repeated and extended offers to continue publication as before on a straight anti-Kuomintang, antiimperialist basis, leaving these various problems to be thrashed out first privately among ourselves. In other words, you deliberately forced suspension of the China Forum despite the fact, on your own admission, that its loss was a serious plow to the revolutionary movement in China, that it meant the disappearance of an organ which for two years you had considered an extremely valuable instrument in the hands of the movement. Here, as in the broader issues which led to our differences, your blind adherence to false policies was once more demonstrative of your readiness to place your factional interests above the interests of the Chinese Revolution.

In going back over the history of the Forum, I think the victous character of your action becomes even more evident when I start with the fact that from beginning to end I functioned not as a member of the party but as a willing sympathizer who was prepared to throw all his energies into a job he saw he could do - edit and publish an organ in China which could help mobilize the forces of this country for struggle against the Ruomintang and the imperialists by exposing the regime of terror and privation which they have in common imposed upon the masses of the Chinese people. Permit me to recall at this point that I never accepted any personal remunera-tion for time or labor. You gave the Forum financial aid but I never received a dollar from you that was not put into the paper. I refused your offers of compensation and sarned my living elsewhere. Your only claim on me was my full-hearted loyalty to the Communist ideal and

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our common dedication to the struggle against a regime of hate and misery and oppression. In the end you forfeited this claim by ceasing any longer to be in my eyes honest or effective leaders of this struggle.

Although you helped the Forum financially, the part you played in building it up from the day it started in January, 1932, to the day of its last appearance in January 1934, was insignificant. My repeated requests for cooperation in matters of circulation and material for publication went largely unsatisfied throughout that time. You never supplied me with the reports I so frequently and urgently sought, particularly on trade unions, strike struggles, the Red Armies, the Red districts, etc. Every thing the Forum did and became was the fruit of the work of a tiny group of devoted collaborators (the most important of whom had no connection with you whatever) and myself who had to depend almost entirely on our own resources for everything we did and published. At every crisis in the Forum's existence, when it was banned by the French authorities in Shanghai at the very outset; when it was bounded and persecuted by the American and Chinese authorities in the summer of 1932, when through British police pressure it was thrown out of every available printing ship in the city; when the pseudo-Fascist Blue Shirts again and again threatened the printing plant which I built up partially through personally contracted loans -- it was invariably through my own initiative, with the help of the little Forum staff, that we pulled ourselves up by the bootstraps every time and carried on to a point in January this year where the Forum was flourishing and growing daily in circulation, prestige, and influence despite the many formidable obstacles in its way. The formation of the China Forum Readers Association, which in the brief space of three months spread to eleven cities in five provinces, developing into a mighty potential weapon for the revolutionary movement, was the product of spontaneous action on the part of the Forum's readers, later sponsored and led by the paper itself. All these were the Forum's own achievements, not yours. By your arbitrary and criminal action you shattered them in the full stride of their growth. Because to my bitter disappointment I had not nor could I secure the resources to carry on myself - owing largely to the difficult conditions of work and the impossibility of getting revenue from the paper itself - all that had been achieved and was to be achieved was ground into the dust.

II.

From almost the very beginning of my active work - which I date from the time I began reporting events in China in a Communist way - a number of questions presented themselves to me in increasingly forcible form. These areas originally from my discovery of the gross distortions and exaggerations which I found to be characteristic of Communist propaganda in China and abroad. I define propaganda as the skilful, clear, accurate and wholly truthful reporting of the facts linked to an incisive,

purposive interpretation and a plan of action for dealing with the facts in a revolutionary way. I learned this from the facts in a revolutionary way. I learned this from the facts and work of Lenin and his bolshevik comrades who taught us that the truth comes from the masses themselves and that only disaster can result from telling them lies. I have never learned to the contrary that it was my revolutionary duty to work in any other way although I soon found that the present day Communist Party press makes a practice of distinguishing between propaganda and truth.

Examples of exaggeration and distortion most striking to me were naturally those which applied to China, because here I could check allegations with known facts. I first wrote these down to the ignorance or incapacity of individuals. I felt that Communist editors abroad would publish accurate facts about China if they could get them. Accordingly with a friend I tried to set up an independent mail news service and sent weekly bulleting to papers all over the world giving brief, sharp, factual accounts of what was going on. This was in the fall of 1931 after my return from the area of the great Central China floods of that summer. I scarcely understood then why this service failed to secure any response from the Communist press abroad. After about three months I had to suspend it for lack of support. It simply didn't get published except in a few organs which were not official Communist Party papers, including the New York Militant.

It wasn't long before I began to perceive, deeper study of international events and the history of the Chinese Revolution, that a consistent thread ran through the distortions and exaggerations which I found not only in brief casual reports of current events but in the solemn pronunciamentoes made by delegates before plenums of the E.C.C.I. I discovered that these departures from the truth were made necessary by the official premise that ever since the catastrophe of 1927 a mighty, upsurging revolutionary movement has been marching forward in China to the very brink of seizure of power under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. I discovered that these exaggerations were necessary because the premise was false and along with it all the basic tenets of the policies being pursued by the Communist International and the Communist Party in China. I cannot begin here to give a summary of some of these distortions (which I verbally cited to you by the dozen) ranging from particular incidents (the wilfully false picture given of the cotton mill strike in Shanghai in January, 1933, even to the point of transposing it to February to heighten the impression given of the workers' role in the Shanghai war) to high flown generalisations like the statement recently made before the Plenum of the S.C.C.I. that the C.C.P. has won over the majority of the Chinese working class and the peasantry.

In denying the factual truth of this premise, whence flows the whole policy of the Communist Party in China, I deprecate not a whit the magnificent militancy and courage of Chinese workers, striking again and again and fighting

against terrific odds in defense of their very lives; nor the neroic struggles waged by peasants all over the country; nor the fight of the Red Armies against the Kuomintang, I merely respect the cold, indisputable fact; that these struggles are defensive, not offensive, that they are isolated, desperate and unorganized. With very few exceptions - a few small strikes here and there and the larger exception of the Red Army - they are without organized revolutionary leadership. Moreover the development of this leadership, the task of the C.P., is proceeding at a tragically retarded pace owing to the false policies and inspt tactics of the party.

In denying the presence of a mighty revolutionary upsurge (i.e., a vast, organised march toward the seizure of power) I respect facts made still clearer perhaps when compared to the facts and figures of the monster mass movements of the 1925-27 period. The tragic errors of the Communist leadership in 1927 were primarily responsible for the decapitation of that great movement and because no lessons have been drawn from those events to this very day, these errors, monstrously accumulated, are still responsible for the tragedies of today. But for the purpose of our comparison here, let us for example take the single fact that in 1926 in Greater Shanghal there were 257 In 1933 there were 82. Let us remember that strikes. on the eve of the workers' seizure of power in Shanghai in March, 1927, there were more than 800,000 borkers handicrafteren and petty traders out on the streets fighting with arms in hands for demands of a far-reaching political character. A close check for the entire country in the latter half of 1933 showed me that Icas than onethirtieth of that number were engaged in strikes and other disputes during any given month and that almost invariably the demands were defensive demands against wage cuts and lockouts. Moreover, the lack of cohesive leadership - often in departments of the same factory or in one or more of a group of factories - or even sometimes lack of even the most elementary organization - has in almost every case led to deadening failure and relatively easy betrayal by the yellow "labor leaders" and "mediators" of the Kuomintang. In 1935 the shooting of thirteen students by British police in Shanghai was the touch-off for a general strike which paralyzed the city and which was seconded by vast sympathy strikes which broke like a series of tidal waves over the entire country. In January, 1932, when the Japanese imperialists used the Shanghai International Settlement as a base for operations which cost the lives of tens of thousands of Chinese, not a single strike interrupted the normal course of the public or other services in that settlement. In the factories there were no strikes but a large scale lockout to which the overwhelming majority of Shanghai's workers submitted without protest.

The dogged, persistent struggle carried on by small sections of the rank and file workers in isolated instances in recent years is tribute to the magnificent fibre of

It is not evidence that a revolutionary Chinese workers. seizure of power is on the order of the day. It 18 evidence, along with the heroic sacrifices of thousands who have lost lives and liberty in Chinese revolutionary struggle during the last seven years of Kuomintang reaction, that it is possible to fight the monstrous white terror which Chinese Communists frequently cite as a reason for the insufficiency of their work. Yet, 1t 18 largely because this terror has not been fought effectively that the Kuomintang regime, despite the fact that it is rotting and orumbling, can still keep the lid down on the boiling, simmering hatred of the people it rules. Unless the martyrdom of thousands of China's finest workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals is to be in vain. we must turn resolutely away from the folly of calling to insurrection when what is needed is painstaking education, organization and the sponsorship of day-to-day struggles of the masses for democratic demands, the slow building up of a party and mass organizations and a movement which will be able to command the forces capable of carrying out an insurrection.

In the case of the widespread but isolated and individual cases of peasant uprisings, and this includes the Red Armies in Kiangsi, these struggles await the leadership of a strong working class movement before they can have a successful issue. The Red Armies in their restricted and surrounded areas and with their meagre resources have fought heroically against the Kuomintang attacks upon them. But until the Kuomintang is shaken from its bulwarks in the imperialist controlled working class centres, their prospect of revolutionary triumph remains necessarily dim. No revolutionary purpose is served by taking refuge in the fiction that these armies have proletarian leadership because individual workers, undoubtedly leaders of superior quality and courage, have been torn from their factories and their fellow-workers and sent down to occupy key positions in the Red Army districts and in the Red Armies themselves. Indeed, this common practice of extracting the most conscious and progressive working class elements from their working class environment and sending them down to the Red districts 18 a good index to the oriminal transposition of emphasis which has helped paralyze the working class movement in the cities. If the White Terror doesn't carry off the workers' leaders as they arise, the C.P. does and has done so in hundreds of cases. This helps in no small part to explain why it has also been impossible to mobilize a genuine mass anti-Japanese movement in the fact of military aggression and why the White Terror of the Kuomintang has succeeded, by filling mass graves and innumerable prisons with the martyred dead and living, in downing the anti-imperialist movement or efforts toward the organization of such a movement and paving the way for the ever increasing encroachments of the imperialists. The party has not yet gripped and directed the deep and bitter and often inarticulate hatred of the masses of the people for their oppressors and this includes large sections of the lower netty bourgeoisie who could be won by successful mass pressure from below. This is because the

Party had failed to translate the realities of everyday events into its program and tactics.

I cannot here go into the many-faceted problems and issues which flow from these facts with regard to the policies and tactics of the Chinese revolutionary movement Nor extending to the international scene need I go into the terrific effects of the German catastrophe nor the storm of questions which has been directed at the C.I. leadership whose responsibility in the disaster has become nakedly clear to unnumbered Communists and Communist sympathizers the world over. Nor into the whole set of implications which arise from the policies of the C:I. with particular reference to the late developments in Soviet foreign policy, the Litvinov-Roosevelt agreement, the forthcoming mooted entrance of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations and in a smaller but equally characteristic way, the forthcoming association of the U.S.S.R. with the Institute of Pacific Relations which hopes to hold its next talkfest in Woscow. These problems ... withtheir many specific links to the Chinese questions, were the basic questions over which I soon began to take issue with the official views of the Party and the International.

III.

But precisely because at all costs I desired to carry on the Forum's open struggle against the common enemy — against the Kuomintang and the imperialists — I sedulously avoided bringing these issues into the columns of the paper, increasingly against my better judgment. I leaned over far backward in this respect. This expressed itself in many of the current issues with which we had to deal.

I ask you to recall the whole unhill fight which the Forum waged on behalf of Paul and Gertrud Ruegg in the spring and summer of 1932 during which time I repeatedly varned against the emphasis which was being placed on the "legal" aspects of the case and the "negotiations" with the Kuomintang to the detriment of mass pressure and the capitalization of the case for political nurvoses. You oaid lip service to the need for mass pressure - particularly here in China - but in fact the "legalities" and futile negotiations remained the major pillars of the de-fense. Until in the very end I finally rebelled, I wasn't even permitted to give Ruegg his honourable and rightful title - secretary of the Pan Pacific Trade Union Secre-Yet, although I felt the struggle for the Rueggs was being seriously handicapped by the tactics being pursued, I carried on the fight with all the energy at my command and you will recall that it was I who created the local defense committee and was chiefly responsible for the widespread press propaganda and the considerable sympathy which we aroused. Yet the strictly non-political attitude which Ruegg was forced to assume at the trial (in contrast to the highly political attitude of his prosecutors) was in my opinion one of the major reasons

for the fate to which he and his wife were condemned.

I ask you to recall the whole period of the organisation and activities of the China-League for Civil Rights, from December, 1933, to June, 1933, in which I took an notive part. I gave full play to this hybrid League and its work without once publishing the basic criticians which I often voiced to you and which in the end were wholly confirmed by what happened after the Kuomintang murdered Yang Chien in June that year.

I ask you to recall the views I set forth in August and Sentember, 1933, on the subject of the "anti-War Congress" which at your specific request I did not publish. Instead, to my regret, I published the foul rot of Mar-ley & Co., without freely giving play to the true facts about that farcical junket which had convinced me that the policies which gave it birth do not one single whit advance the international struggle against imperialist war.

On one occasion - and this at least I can take comfort in - I passively resisted when you requested me to
write and publish a slanderous attack on Chen-Tu-heiu
when he was condemned to 13 years imprisonment by the
Kuomintang. Your request was specific. I was not to
deal with the issues which had brought Chen Tu-heiu from
being the leader of the C.P. in 1927 to being leader of
the Chinese Opposition in 1933. I was only to string together a vile series of labels in an effort to explain
why the Kuomintang even imprisoned the leader of the
Left Opposition. As you know, that attack was never
written or published.

Again in December, 1933, upon my return from Fukien you specifically demanded that I set aside the results of my own personal investigations in Foochow in order to write on your behalf (but over my signature!) an utterly baseless and slanderous attack on the Left Opposition. You will recall that you charged at that time that the "Trotskyists" were prominently identified with the new government set up in Tukien by Chen Ming-shu and Teal Ting-kai. You lumped the Left Opposition with the Third Party and the so-called Social Democrats among the petty bourgeois satellites of the Fukien militarists. It was as much to satisfy myself on this very point as to perform a mission for you that I went down to Foodhow and spont two weeks there and learned through direct contact with dozens of people prominently concerned that the Left Opposition were stoutly and clearly opposed to the Foochaw regime. I haven't place here to discuss the relations of the C.P. to the short-lived Fukien Government or the character of the "negotiations" which were going on down there. The important thing here is that on my return you demanded that I write slanders which flew in the face of everything I myself had learned. It is interesting, as a sidelight on your methods in factional strife as you conceive it, that your representative in Foodhow sent back a report, through me, ironically enough, that one of the most prominent of the youthful pseudo-radicals in Foochow, Bu

Chi-yuen to be exact, was a leading "Trotskyist". It so happened that I had not and had several lengthy interviews with Bu and by the time I left Foothow I understood his position and his personality exceedingly well. He was as much a Trotskyist as Mei Lan-fang is! Yet you actually demanded that I ignore my own knowledge of the man and in my article on Fukien set him down as a "Trotskyist". I was faced on the one hand by your demands that I write falsehoods to suit your policies and on the other by my deep desire to set forth the actual facts about the Opposition's attitude towards the Fukien regime. But once more, to preserve the shreds of our relationship, I drove a middle course and did neither, leaving the whole question out of my article.

Despite the facts that these issues weighed more and more heavily upon me, despite the fact that events in China and abroad were pressing themselves more and more imperatively on the concerns of every sincere revolution-ary, I still tried to keep the Forum balanced on its ribbon-like path, concentrating on the anti-Kuomintang, anti-imperialist struggle, and in so doing fulfilling at least a partial function as a revolutionary organ. deeply felt, however, that I was betraying my readers by avoiding these issues. How could I write of Germany and avoid all the implications of that disaster? How could I write of America's recognition of the U.S.S.R. and still fail to say that the Communist International had virtually been murdered at Washington? How could I warn against the dangers of imperialist Intervention in the U.S.S.R. and still not point out that Soviet foreign policy was in fact daily heightening the danger of such intervention? Yet I somehow did so and sought in whatever way possible to retain some basis for our continued collaboration.

IV.

Nevertheless, abruptly in January of this year you forced an ultimatum upon me and subsequently forced the break in our relationship because I could not and would not, at your demand, devote the China Forum to policies which I could not and do not believe compatible with the interests of the Chinese Revolution and the international proletarian revolution. I could not, at your demand, set aside the convictions to which I had literally been driven by the stinging lash of catastrophic events in China, Germany and the world over. Particularly my deep interest in Chinese events during the last three years made it impossible for me, finally, to give active support to policies and tactics whose disastrous effects were being a thousandfold confirmed for me by the tragic events of every swiftly-passing day. I could not ignore questions which strike at the roots of our work and the whole structure of our hopes for a revolutionary future.

Despite the fact that these questions are rocking the entire International today, you denied my right to

raise them in print. You demanded more. You demanded that I attack anybody who did so - primarily the people you call "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists" - the only people who are facing these problems today in a fearless, revolutionary way. You demanded that the China Forum become a stereotype for the policies and vulgar factional slanders which I could neither then nor now be party In reply to my questions on China you simply quoted back to me the lies and half-lies I've been so used to back to me the lies and half-lies I've been so used to You even declared: reading in Inprecorr. ganda purposes a certain amount of exaggeration is neces-sary... and went on amazingly to say: "but we know the sary ... and went on amazingly to say: true facts and we base our policies on them, not on these exaggerations! A new slant on modern-day C.I. taotics! Facts, you said, are curious things. They have to be turned around and around and around and examined closely until their true nature becomes apparent. The trouble is you turn them so far and so quickly that they turn into something like a dizzily turning top of fancy - or at best wish - fulfilling misrepresentations.

To my questions on Germany you quoted Heckert, Piatniteky, and the E.C.C.I. a famour resolution declaring that the collapse of the German party and the slaughter of the German workers were based on the past, present and future correct policies of the C.P.G.! You declared I had no right to offer critical comment on the dangerously opportunistic foreign and domestic policies of the U.S.S.R., most notably on the entry of the U.S.S.R. on a straight nationalist basis into the disgusting corridors of imperialist intrigue. To the contrary, I was to lovingly fawningly fondle and hail the policies which have meant disaster in China, Germany and elsewhere and are rapidly leading the U.S.S.R. into the vacuum of nationalist isolation from the world wide proletarian movement. This I was to do, to begin with, by publishing Stalin's face on the front page and columns of the customary panegyrics to his infallibility. Above all and before all, I was to take up oudgels against "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism". That was to be the main point of my reformation - to raise no questions myself and slander anybody else who did so.

In reply to your demand that I submit to an editorial board in order that these editorial policies should be effectively put into practice, I offered (1) to continue publication strictly as before, meanwhile arguing out my differences with you in discussions on the side; (2) to throw the columns of the Forum open to a general discussion of all basic revolutionary question, with free play to unorthodox as well as orthodox views. If your views were correct, I argued, it would be a distinct advantage to you to have such an opportunity to display their brilliance alongside the puny efforts of your critics; (3) to publish orthodox news and views but to reserve for myself the right to comment and criticise.

These repeated offers you repeatedly refused. You offered to discuss these questions with me verbally if in

the seanwhile I throw the Forum oven to your editorial board. My other proposals were unthinkable! Give the Forum's readers a chance to hear counter-revolutionary viewroints? Never that! I could only display my revolutionary purity by acceding to your demands. We would talk things over until Spring, then if all went well (i.e., if I showed a satisfactory adaptability to your viewroint) I could pack up for an educational trip to the Soviet Union where I would certainly become convinced of the error of my ways. In other words you wanted my signature on a promissory note with the amount left blank for you to fill in. You put this in the form of an ultimatum and you told me that if I did anything but accept I would forthwith enter the camp of the "counter-revolution".

I had to refuse these terms. I had to refuse to lend myself to a slanderous and baseless struggle against the International Left Opposition. I had to refuse to lend space to the nauseatingly fawning praise of Stalin and uncritical reception of Stalinist policies which characterise the Communist Party press the world over. I had to refuse to take shelter in the cold and draughty empty spaces which stretch behind the impressive facade and early tradition of the Communist International. I would like to go to the Soviet Union for a vist someday but I had to refuse your offer on your terms. I had to refuse, in short, to become a back prostitute in the name of the Revolution.

In the end, too, I had to refuse to turn over to you the printing plant I had built up with so much pain and struggle because I considered it not your property but the property of the working class movement. Because I could not carry on the Forum myself, for lack of financial resources and because of heavy debts contracted, I disposed of the plant and turned every farthing of the proceeds over to where I now consider the true interests of our movement lie. It was with a deep and abiding bitterness that I had considered comrades, when for two years it had fought off all its many enemies on the outside.

Tet with it came the realization that we have to build anew over the ruins you have wrought. The revolution and the building of our future moves forward and when we trample down the defenses of our enemies we shall crush underfoot everything and everybody that stands in our way. No sycophantic, blind allegiance to a name, an empty facade, a torn and shredded prestige can lead us forward. Only unswerving fidelity to our goal and active struggle towards this end with the weapons of a correct and tosted political line will lift us from defeat to ultimate victory. To this struggle I shall continue to dedicate all my energies.

Harold R. Isasos.

Peiving, China May 20, 1934.

EUR CORDUNIST ACTIVITIES FILES

SOURCE: DAILY MORKER

9100 Praces

POST WRITER ADMITS ALL KOREA' OPPOSES INVASION

The Korean people are united behind the Liberation Armies from the North and are hostile to the American troops sent there by Truman's interventionist order, the New York Post's Far East expertagy.

Isanes' article give the lie to the Post's own editorial line of support to the police-state regime of Synghman libre and the Truman attack on Korea as an act to defend "democracy."

Isanes declared that the U.S. has "much more reason to count on herios, support. He admitted that "South Korean hostility than on herios, support. He admitted that "South Korean civilians have been infinitely harder hit by the American action so far than by their fellow-Koreans from the:

The South Korean government was an "unpopular one in the elec-tion held only four weeks ago," Issaes said, "the regime of Presithat Syngman Illico was decisively repudated.

Tennuateo.

Isaacs 'declared that the goerilla' movements in South Korea "could' have operated only with a considerable measure of popular support," and he acknowledged the intense desire of all Koreans for rounification of their dismembered country."

Country,"
To top this story, bristling with exposure of the imperialist nature of the Truman attack on Korea, and with evidence of the Korean people's awareness of their real enemy, the Past concacted the dis-

RECORD GERY

7100 - Issuer, Horold

December 2, 1932.

No. 1480.

MEHOHANDUN.

sith reference to R.A. memorandum No. 1305 of December 4, 1931; regarding Harold ISAACS and his connection with Bilaire Noutens, it has just been learned that one Viola Robinion arrived in Shanghai on August 28, 1932, by the Cit. R. a.s. ampless of asia. On August 29, Miss Hobinion, together with Harold ISAACS of the CHIMA FORUM, gave notice to the United States Consulate General of their intended marriage, which actually took place on the 14th September. In his marriage application, ISAACS particularly requested that no publicity be given to the forthcoming ceremony. It appears that Miss ROBINION is a folioter of the Suffregette, Lucy STONE, who, some fifteen or twenty years ago, advocated among American women the retention of the maiden name after marriage. According to officials of the United States Consulate General, Viola SCHIMION, therefore, will not be known as Vrs. ISAACS.

In connection with Viola "COINTEN's activities in China, in a letter, dated Szechuen, July 24, 1931, Harold ISAACS wrote to Viola ECHINSON as follows:

"You are in the swim, Viola. I'm coming back to dive in and swim alongside. That do you think? It is all extremely fortuitous from our standpoint that I should have seen the light at last. Your work with "UGG and the future in it is far more important than unything you could do out here or anywhere else for that matter. I'll get back - no matter a possible delay - no matter how - there will be a job to be done and by our gods I'm going to get into it..."

attention is called to the name TURN mentioned in the above extract.

A YEUE CORY OF THE SIGNED ORAGINAL

RESULD COPY

H/W ATT CO TO 35856

201-18446

No. 5019

9 m. Transe, therely

Confidential.

ACCRICAN CONSULAR CHRYICE.

American Consulate Caneral, Shanghai, China, December 16, 1931.

Subject: Horold H. Isaaca.

THE HONORASLE

TUE SECRETARY OF STATE,

Biri

I have the honor to report that an American citizen named Barold R. Isaacs has been reported to this office by the police of the International Settlement as a communist suspect. The facts regarding Mr. Isaacs are briefly as follows:

Describer, 1930, and stated that he would be for a few months in Shanghai; at that time he exhibited passport No. 177026, issued by the Department of State on March 17, 1950. He stated that he expected to leave Shanghai in June, 1931; that his home was in New York City and that his local address was in care of the American Express Company.

Absording to Police reports Issaes arrived in Shanghai from Manila as a first-class passenger on the S. S. PRESIDENT JEFFERSON on Descaper 17, 1930. He was employed by the SHANGHAI EVERNO 1957 AND MERCURY and later by the CPR'A PRUSS but apparently lost both

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H/WATTOTTE XAAZ-33656

201-15046

positions. He has resided with a British subject named C. Frank Class at 129 Weihairel Road and made a trip with Class to Spechien during June, 1931. The police file contains a copy of a letter written by him to a Miss Viola Robinson, ours of the American Consulate, Prusden, Germany, dated July 24, 1931, at Chongtu, Szochuca. This letter, it is stated, was returned unemened to Shanghai from Dresden, addressed to Herold N. Isaacs in care of the American Empress Company, Changhai, and was opened by the Post Office Consor at the request of the Commissioner of Posts. The letter is very long and shows that Icasos, although previously holding communistic views, only decided definitely to turn "Red" during July of this year. He states that he was influenced in this decision by certain conversations with O. Frank Class, above referred to, during their trip to Szoohuen.

In connection therewith it may be of interest to state that according to a police report dated October 17, 1931, information regarding this letter was given by the Shanghai Municipal Police to an officer of the local British Consulate Ceneral, who apparently cabled information regarding it to London. The police report states that a reply was subsequently receive the gist of which is as follows:

"Viola Robinson arrived in the United States about the middle of September. The whole family are communists in touch with Isaaco family."

The police state that Harold E. Isanes in Hovember, 1931, established a news against under the name of the

For Eastern From Correspondence," cubic address
Fenprecop, P. C. Box 1926. On Cotober 8th Isnaes and
C. Frank Glass moved from 120 Weithnissi Road to House
Ro. 6, Passage No. 177, Avenue Dubnil. The police state
that this address was formerly known as humber 85 Avenue
Dubnil and is the boarding house at which Agnes Smedley
resided from May, 1929, to May 1930. The police report
that Agnes Smedley frequently visits Isnaes and Class
at this address.

In my monthly political report for November, on page 15 it was stated that the bodies of numerous members of the family of a certain Kou had been murdered, allegedly by commists in retaliation for Kou's turning traitor to the communist cause. In connection with this ratter Isaacs addressed an open letter to the various newspapers of Shanghai, under date of Hovember 24, 1931, in which he secred them for branding those alloged murders as: "horrible" and "destardly," while of the some time they did not raise their editorial voices against the wholesale murders committed by Chiang Kai-shek, the Carrison Commander of Shanghai and other Chinese militarists. Hone of the papers saw fit to publish this letter but I have received a copy thereof, and copies are enclosed. I have also received a photostatic copy of the last page containing the signature of Er. Issaes.

Rompostfully yours,

E'win S. Cunninghes, American Consul General.

Inclosure:

Enclosure:

1/- Copy of open letter from Enrold

R. Isaaos, dated November 24, 1931.

Physical Signed orig.

BCCB

In (undruplicate

No Copy to Location.

Enclosure No. 1 to despatch No. 19 of Edwin S. Cusningham, American Consul General at Shandard, China, dated Pecember 16, 1931, on the subject: "Narold h. Isaacs."

CON

AN ORES ASTER TO THE FOR MOR METSTANDED OF CHEROMAL.

Your publication of the "chastly" (Shanchai Times), "horrible" (China Press), "desturily" ("vening Post and North China Daily News) mirders allegedly semitted by Chinese Communists in the French Canadasion brings forcibly to mind certain other assects of the Chinese some whose chastliness and barbarity find their way into your columns only at rare intervals - and them only in brief cool paragraphs.

There can be no attempt to "justify" these alleged murders, if the tale be true. We all hate the cuts of a traitor. But we cannot all condens a system of vendetta which exacts so the price of betrayal the innocent lives of a traitor's family. That, however, involves the question of differing social quetor's to which no abstract moral a solute can possely be applied.

Betrayal has its price under any social norm, whether we turn the dirty work of vangesnee ever to the ineffable mercies of the Lord or employ the less seathetic but more effective instruments of the gallows, electric chair, lethal chamber, the guillotine or the core refined peapons of social estracian; whether we consider the truiter himself responsible for his actions - or exact retribution from his bleed relations as well. (Jebovah, too, visits the sins of the father upon his children, yea, even unto the third and fourth generations!)

Rut you reporters, whose typesriters quivered with the horror of these alleged decis of marder in Frenchtown can still without a quals condone and even express satisfaction at mass marders a thousand times more revolting, a thousand times nore barbarous — but less so in your journalistically judicious eyes only because officially perpetrated.

You city sitors - at the moment sending your men out to run down the last threaded folds to this particular story - why don't you send them out to Lunchus some fine sunny morning? Thy don't you give them an opportunity to witness the terture and murder of young non and women whose only crime is a realistic appreciation of the social and economic factors at work in the world and a demand for their readjustment?

Tou e iters, who wield your editorial powers so self-right-ously, why don't you consistently examine and logically expose a povernment that maintains itself largely by desperately slaughtering the flower of its protesting youth and the backbone of its peasont masses who attempt protest against its vensity and corruptions

Conly when it is convenient for your foreign interests; however, do you find it politic to trut out some of your favorite blasts against the Nanking regime, attacks which are almost always immediately offset by the nauscating culogies, and blatant lies that follow.

Considered from your own point of view, Meases.
Editors, the marderers of these Fronchtown people should be brought to justice and made to pay for their origos.
But similarly from your own point of view, to what her of justice should Chiang Hai Shek be brought, before that tribunads can we arraign the carrison commanders of Shanghai, Nonking, Hankow, the warlords of Shantung, Meachen, and Manchuria for the lives they have taken in the perpetual wars they have waged on the people of China? On any principles of abstract justice, is the mass marder of thousands by the machine gun, the beaber, the rifls, the sword, the are any three just than the furtive strangulation of nine hopoless relatives of a pelf-branded yellow cur? This perpetual warfare has been waged on the protext of suppressing "banditry." If this he so, we are confronted with the startling fact, vouched for and advertised by the government beasting the recognition of all foreign powers, that vast pertions of the Chinese population are eriminal: On this promise, Chiang Hai Shek & Co.
backed by the ceherts of the Soong Menage swoop down on whole provinces, massacre thousands, take heavy tells from the meaged life earnings of peacents and workers.
And with all their guns and planes and hundreds of thousands of soldiers, they still fail to eradicate the

The are the bandits, the rebbers, the murderers? Answer this question, Mesers. Editors - and enswer it honostly if you dere:

Japan, in violation of no-called principles of justice, but in full accord with the lessons of history, is helping herself to a good slice of Continental Asia, allegedly part of the Banking Gevernment's domain. Lacking the courage, the ability, the inclination to turn its guins on the invador, the Euchintang sits in solemn conclave at Banking and discusses further measures which, it hopes, will permit the extermination of new portions of China's vast "criminal" population to progress more effectively.

Let us take some of the facts sporadically reported by your own and the Chinese prose during May-December, 1980. You reported 4,740 secutions. From other, more meticulous a wrose are derived statistics which show that no less than 96010 were executed during the last four menths of 1930 alone! This figure sounds (lobular, doesn't it? Yet for every digit there is semembere in China a rotting corpse.

During the period following the close of the so-salled "military" period of the Auchintang in 1928

to the opening of the Third Plenary Jossien of the Party in 1929 approximately 450,00 vortiers, possents, and students not deut; at the hands of China's "rovolutiomry" armies. One Shanghai daily (Chinase) late the next year editorialized as follows:

"All Ching's problems could be satisfactorily settled if the good work of the past few months can be continued. From August to Cetober (1930) alone 140,000 Communists were killed and 450,000 people starved to death in the famine regions."

And if the dimensions of these figures are not ghastly enough to move you, shall we engage in a bit of felicitous description of the tertures a plied by these righteeus saviers of China? Shall we speak of the burnings in oil, the buying alive (as were five young men and wemen at Lunghus en Feb. 7 last) the strangulations, the unspeakable mutilation of human bodies before death? These aren't wild nightwares. You have all seen and shuddered at the photographs which can still be bought here and there in Chanchai depicting these processes in all their grisliness.

And at those, Mesers. Mitors, do you raise your editorial hands in saintly horror? Do you splash your columns with the adjectives "dastardly, horrible, chastly?" Hardly. That would offend your Nanking friends. If you do not maintain silence that bespeaks contentment, you bruzenly applaud. For this we can quote you chapter and verse from your own editorials.

There are no organs, no publications here that dare look these facts boldly in the face. Your mastheads all carry boasts of your importiality. Here is at least one opportunity to invest them with some quality of verisi illitude.

Sincorely,

(Signed) Harold R. Issaes 177 Avenue Dubeil, House 6.

Soft-13 made

Hovember 24, 1931.

Copied by IBB Compared with ITH HA

FILE NO.

SOURCE:

D.W.

DATE:

8-4-32

EDITOR OF CHINA PAPER IN DANGER

Threat to Turn Isaacs Over to Nanking

BHANGHAI, Aug. 2.—The Wall Street government, supporting its Nanking butcher agents, has threatened to turn over Harold R. Isaacs, American editor of the "China For-

American editor of the "China Forum," to the Manking hangmen.
As editor of the China Forum,"
Isaacs has committed the crime against imperialism of supporting the Chinese Revolution and ruthlessly exposing the mass murder of revolutionary Chinese workers and peasants by the Nanking regime and the United Biates and other imperialist, brigands. He has exposed the shametul self-out of the Chinese masses, by the Nanking traitors to the Japancese, American and other imperialisitat.

The United States government has warned isaacs that it will withdraw the protection of extra-territorial rights unless the "China Porum", changes its editorial and news politices. Under the extra-territoriality treaties imposed upon China by the importalists, American and other citisens of the importalist powers may not be tried in the Chinese courts. Because Isaacs is an American citizen the Nanking government has not been able to wreack its vengrance on him for his exposure of their bloody terror and betrayal of the Chinese masses. The Wall Street Covernment, which protects its business agents ("s looting China now proposes to throw Isaacs to its Nanking lackeys for trial in the Chinese courts on charges carrying life imprisonment or the death penalty.

Issaes has categorically refused to concede to the demands of the United States government that he change the policies of the "China Forum." He is closely associated in the anti-timperialist, anti-Kuchintang fight wit's Madame Sun Yat-sen, who is chiarmen of the committee leading the fight to save Paul and Gertrude Rueggs from a death sentence in the Chinese courts.

American workers and intellectuals and their organizations should at once zend rigorous protest to the ollate Department at Washington against its attempt to mead Isaaca to death in the Nanking Courts.

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RECONDICES

Priss Confirmer 7/30/32.

9000 Janes

direct to Paris for three or four days before proceeding to London. His visit to Paris is, therefore, strictly unofficial.

FRANCE

A correspondent asked if the French Government had asked the State Department for an agreement for a new Ambassador in Washington, M. Germaine-Martin. Mr. Rogers replied in the negative.

CHINA

A correspondent asked if Representative La Guardia of
New York had asked the State Department to intervene in the
case of an American named Harold Isaacs who is now editing a
newspaper in China, which, according to press despatches,
is a Communist organ. The correspondent continued by saying
that according to stories the American diplomatic officers
in China warned Mr. Isaacs that he would be likely to lose
his extraterritorial status because of hisactivities. Furthermore, his father, who is in New York, wants the Department of State to get Mr. Harold Isaacs back and have him deported. In reply, Mr. Rogers said that he knew nothing of
any communication from Mr. La Guardia on the subject. In regard to the story, it is not true that this Government has
threatened to deprive Mr. Isaacs of his extraterritorial rights
in Shanghai.

BOLIVIA-PARAGUAY

A correspondent asked if the State Department had received any reports to the effect that the Bolivians had captured two Paraguayan forts. In reply, Mr. Rogers said that he understood that Assistant Secretary White talked with the correspondents last night concerning the situation and that Mr. White might possibly be able to see the correspondents again today.

H/N ATT 09 To XAA2 - 35016

RED. 13 COT 201-15446

FBI REPORT

DATE: 10 AUGUST 1953 CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL SUBJECT: HAROLD ROBERT ISAACS INTERNAL SECURITY - R

FBI FILE #: 100-286243 - BUREAU 105-1247 - NEW YORK

Secret

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25 Jan 19

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FBI REPORT

DATE: 6 AUG 1952 CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL

SUBJECT: HAROLD ROBERT ISAACS
INTERNAL SECURITY - R
FBI FILE #: 100-286243 (BUREAU)
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WCWACE Representative			BUTTE
SUBJECT ISOLOG/WUSPARROW/Operational			
Dr. Harold R. ISAACS, Professor of P.	litical Science at	M.T.T.	
ACTION REQUIRED . REFERENCES			

- 1. On 12 July 1967, WUSPARROW/I renewed his old friendship with Subject at the MIT Faculty Club. Subject is now a senior research associate at MIT's Center for International Studies and has recently been named a Professor.
- 2. For the past few years Subject has been working on an international study series involving minority racial groups. His reports have been published in the New Yorker magazine and as books, The New World of Negro Americans and India's Untouchables. Subject plans to publish in August 1967 a book on the American Jews in Israel and is working on another on the Philippines.
- 3. WUSPARROW/1 first mot Subject in 1946 after he had just completed a long and friendly interview with Ho Chi Minh as Far East correspondent for Newsweek. At that time, Subject felt that the United States was making a mistake in not accepting Ho as the leader of a united Vietnez, reeling that Ho was independent enough of China to make him at worst a sort of Tito.
- 4. Subject presently is despairing of United States foreign relations in that our people from Washington, or elsewhere, seldom seem to establish a deep rapport with Asian or African nationals. Subject feels that such relations as do exist never reach more than an ineffective superficial level.
- 5. Subject first went to the Far East about 1930 when he was a crew member of the Matson Line's Malolo and disembarked at Monolulu to work for the Honolulu Advertiser. (MUSFARROW/1 went to work for the same paper two years later.) Subject went mext to the Fhilippines where he worked on a Manila daily. While in Manila he was offered the editorship of the Bangkok Royal Mail, to fill in for St. Clair McELMAY, now of the New Yorker.

CONTINUED . .

Distribution: 2 - C/DO

	200-6-360/3 File	in 201-17446
CROSS REFERENCE TO	GSPATCH SYMBOL AND RUNGER	DATE
	UTBA - 543	11 August 1967
-	CLASSIFICATION	HCS FILE NUMBER
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CONTINUATION OF DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION

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SECRET

UTBA - 543

- 6. Subject's mind was set on China and in late 1931 he went to Shanghai and joined The China Press, working alongaide Tiliman DURDIN, now of the Now York Times. Subject lost his job with The China Press after a flare-up with Hollington TONG, part-owner of the paper. Subject then joined the Newsweek foreign staff. Subject was in and out of Bangkok after World War II and WUSPARROW/1 became friendly with him. According to WUSPARROW/1, samy people regard Subject's Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution as a significant work and a recent writer on China, Dennis BLOODHORTH, holds a good view of Subject's Scratches on the Mind.
- 7. Subject now-seems permanently settled with MIT, having bought a home at 96 Farlow Road, Newton. Subject hosts there at pool-side "seminars" on Saturday afternoons, with MIT faculty friends and journalist friends such as Bob SHAPLEN coming by. Subject invited MUSPARROW/1 to participate as well.
- 8. However, as HUSPARROW/1 ascertained, Subject has little contact with foreign students save for an occasional adult foreign graduate student. We hope, considering Subject's background, that he will prove with WUSPARROW/1's guidance to be a profitable unwitting spotter and assessor of foreign graduate students.

LOUIS K. ROLLOFIER

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	50 45. 22.66.2153
NAME ISAACS, HAROLD ROBERT	4 - CET JEE Rep 10:13-45
BORN: Sopt. 19, 1910, NY	
ES: married Viola Bobinson, dob June married Shanghai, Sopt. 14,	20, 1910, NYC, NY 1932
ADDRESSES: YSANCS	
Aug., 1965 to present, 96 Farlow	Rd. Newton. Mass.
July, 1953 to Aug., 1965	Miss.
Fob., 1944 to July, 1953, 333 Con	tral Pk. Wost, NYC, NY
1940 to Sept., 1941, 72 Pk. Torra	Newport Ave., Priendship Hts., Md.
1937 to 1940, 40 Monroe St., NYC.	NY
EDUCATION	
George Washington H. S., NYC, 1923	3 to 1926
SSH:	
EMPLOYMENT:	
1953 , Mass. Inst. of Technology	, Camb, Mass., academic, research
1943 to 1950, Newsweek, WDC, CBI, war corres. assoc. editor	Pacific, on Asia, Nic, reporter,
1943, Lookhoed Aircraft Corp., WD	, radio writor,
1940 to 1943, Columbia Broadcastin	ng Co., MYC, WDC, writer
1934 to 1935, self employed, Pekir	ig, China, writer
1932 to 1934, Havas Nows Agency, 3	anagani, China, news editor
1930 to 1931, Shai Evening Post, S	hanghai. China. reporter
1930, Honolulu Advertiser, Eonolul	u, reporter
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FOREIGN TRAVEL: Chipa, 1930 to 1935, Travel, work,	welting
China, Burma, India, 1944, to 1945	. war corres. Noveweek
PI, India, Indonesia, 1949 to 1949	, Nosswook assignment
Puillippines, 1950 to 1950, cove	r Baguo conference
Europe Eninly UK, 1957 to 1957, tr Czech., Israel, India, 1960 to 196	
Malaya, PI., etc., 1963 to 1964,	o, academica itawaren projediko
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RELATIVES:	111 66
Father, I. Robert Issaes, decreased Mother, Sorbie Durlin, decreased	1111/2000
Wife, Viola Bobinson Issaes, dob 1	910. same
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NAI to information forwarded in OSCI-316/04352-65 dated 26 October 1965 Rubject: ISANCS, Haward Rabert. 10 HOV 1955 ...

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26 OCT 1965

Federal Bureau of Investigation ATTN: Special Agent in Charge of Washington Field Office

FROM:

Deputy Director for Plans

-SUBJECT:

ISAACS, Harold Robert

Reference is made to the request dated 14 October 1965 concerning Subject. Attached for your retention is a copy of our dated 13 October 1965. subject: ISAACS, Harold Robert. It is noted that a portion of the information appearing in said was previously forwarded to you in our SODB 20568, dated 2 December. 1949, subject: Harold Robert ISAACS.

Encl. l name check l attachment as stated above

RID/CE: JMA/CPL/ell

Based on: CSCI-316/04169-65

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SFIRE ED POSIGN DISSEM. IN 201-184

201-19446

Ca Special RETURN TO: Tainor 10/14/63 caw FILE #151-1423 BUDED: ISAAUS, HAROLD ROBERT NAME: Sept. 12, 1910, NYC, NY MS: married Viola Robinson, dob June 20, 1910, NYC, MY married Shanghai, Sopt. 14, 1932 ADDRESSES: Aug., 1965 to present, 96 Farlow Ed., Newton, Mass. July, 1953 to Aug., 1965 Kass. Fob., 1944 to July, 1953, 339 Contral Pk. West, NYC, NY Sept., 1941 to Feb., 1944, 4938 Resport Ave., Fr 1940 to Sopt., 1941, 72 Pk. Terraco West, NYC, MY 1937 to 1940, 40 Europ St., NYC, NY Resport Ave., Friendship Hts., Md. EDUCATION George Washington H. S., NYC, 1923 to 1926 SSN: EMPLOYNEUT: , Mass. Inst. of Tochnology, Camb, Mass., academic, research 1953 1943 to 1950, Newswork, WDC, CBI, Pacific, SE Asia, MYC, reporter, war corres. assoc. editor 1943, Lookhoed Aircraft Corp., WDC, radio writer, 1940 to 1943, Columbia Broadcasting Co., NYC, WDC, writer 1934 to 1935, self employed, Peking, China, writer 1932 to 1934, Havas News Agency, Shanghai, China, news editor AL AHALYST FOREIGN TRAVEL:

China, 1930 to 1935, Kravol, Work, Eriting China, Burma, India, 1536 to 1945, very corres. Newsweek PI, India, Indonesia, 1949 to 1949, Newsweek assignment Phillippines, 1950 to 1950, cover fague conference Kurope Mainly UK, 1957, 1957, travel, visit university Czech., Israel, India 1967, pendemick research project Malaya, PI., etc., 1967, 1964,

RELATIVES:

Father, I. Robert Issaes, deceased Mother, Sorbic Dorlin, deceased Wife, Viola Robinson Isaacs, dob 1910, same FILE IN 201

C3 CCPY REFERENCE: Sirgent Shriver, Peace Corps., EDC, known 17 yrs.

1'8 OCT 1965

ETTURY TO: TALEGE 20/14/66 CAW FILS #151-1423 DUDED: 11/11a

7/11:4: ISAACS, EAROLD RODERT

DORN: Sopt. 19, 1010, NYC, NY

ES: married Viola Rosinson, Lob Juno 30, 1910, NYC, NY married Shanghai, Sopt. 14, 1932

ADDRESSUS:

Aug., 1965 to prosent, 96 Farlow Ed., Newton, Mass.
July, 1953 to Aug., 1965
Fub., 1944 to July, 1953, 283 Central Pk. West, MTC, NY
Sept., 1941 to Feb., 1944, 4938 Nowport Avo., Friendship Hts., Hd.
1940 to Sept., 1941, 72 Pk. Cerrace Ment, NYC, NY
1937 to 1940, 40 Monroe St., NYC, NY

EDUCATION

George Washington H. S., NTC, 1923 to 1926

SSM:

EMPLOYMENT: 1970-1973 Self-employed -weiter wyc 1953 , Mass. Inst. of Technology, Camb, Mass., academic, research 1943 to 1950, Mayordek, WEC, CEE, Pacific, SE Asia, MyC, reporter, war corres. assoc. editor

1943, Lookhood Aircraft Corp., WMC, radio writer, 1940 to 1943, Columbia Broadcasting Co., NVC, WDC, writer

1934 to 1935, solf caployed, Paking, China, writer
1932 to 1935, Ravas Novo Agency, Shanghai, China, news editor
1931 to 1932, China Press, Shanghai, China, city editor (China Forum)
1930 to 1931, Shai Evening Post, Shanghai, China, reporter
1930, Honolulu Advortiser, Monolulu, reporter
1938, 1930 New York Times - Kapparen

FOREIGN TRAVEL:

China, 1930 to 1935, Travel, work, writing China, Burma, India, 1944, to 1945, war corres. Newswork PI, India, Indonesia, 1949 to 1949, Nouswork assignment Phillippings, 1959 to 1956, cover Engue conference Europo Kainly UK, 1957 to 1957, travel, visit university Czech., Israel, India, 1960 to 1960, academicH research project Malaya, PI., etc., 1963 to 1964,

RELATIVES:

Father, I. Polant Issaes, deceased Yother, Sophie Borlin, deceased Wife, Viola Robinson Isaaca; dob 1910, same

Sirgent Shriver, Peace Corps., WDC, known 17 yrs.

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22 OCT 1955

NAI to information forwarded in CSCI-316/04352-65, dated 26 October 1965, subject: ISAACS, Harold Robert.

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HO FOREIGH DISSEM

. 13 OCT 1965

TO:

United States Civil Service Commission Attention: Mr. Joseph G. Campbell

FROM:

Deputy Director for Plans

ISAACS, Harold Robert SUBJECT:

1. Reference is made to your request dated 14 September 1965. The files of this office contain considerable information concerning Subject., the solient elements of which are summarized below.

2. According to undated information from a reliable source, Subject born 13 September 1910 in New York City, arrived in Shanghai, China, from Manila, Philippine Islands, in December 1930. First employed in Shanghai by the English language daily. Evening Post and Mercury, Subject became associated a few works later with the China Press, with which he remained until May 1931. In June 1931 Subject traveled up the Yangtze River with the British Communist, Cecil Frank GLASS, a suspected agent for the Third International in China. Also in 1931, Subject became the Shanghai secretary of the Comite Liternationale Pour la Defense de Paul et Gertrude RUEGG (NOULENS), a committee, with Headquarters in Berlin, formed to aid the defense of the NOULENS against charges of espionage perferred by the Chinese Government. Subject was in correspondence with Willi MUENZENBERG, President of the Committee and an active agent in Germany for the Third International. Subject was also known to be in contact with Agnos SMEDLEY in Shanghai during the same period. On 14 September 1932 in Shanghai, Subject married Viola ROBINSON, an American citizen born 10 June 1910 in New York City. Miss ROBINSON was believed to have been connected with Communist activities in the United States and in China. Correspondence between her and Subject prior to their marriage indicated that they were both sympathetic to activities being conducted by the Communists in China.

> FILE IN 201-18446 * NO FOREIGH DISSEN

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- 3. According to predecessor organization information, Subject was also employed as a staff writer for the Havas News Agency in Shanghai during the period 1930-1935 and was a member of the Society of Friends of the USSR and of the China League for Civil Rights.
- 4. An undated report from an unknown source indicated that Subject had turned against the Stalinist Government of the USSR, and had become a Trotskyite (probably during the mid-1930's). Friends of Subject stated that even during the height of his Trotskyist career he never accepted money from any group, that he was open and above board, and that he never engaged in any conspiracies to overthrow established government. They also indicated that Subject was attracted to communism by sheer idealism. Immediately after Pearl Harbor, Subject broke with the Trotskyite group as he had broken with the Communisman began writing prepagands for the United States Government.
- 5. According to Source of paragraph 2, Subject was a war correspondent in China during World War II for Newsweek. In July 1945 he was refused entry into China by Chinese Nationalist authorities, presumably as a result of enti-Nationalist articles he wrote for Newsweek. In 1949 Subject was Special Features Editor for that magnitue, at 152 West 42nd Street, New York City. He was the author of several books, including No Peace in Asia and The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution.
 - 6. Subject's present political beliefs are unknown to this office.

Encl. 1 name check

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Based on: SODB-20568

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HO FOREIGH DISSEM

. 27 NOV 1963

Assistant Chief of Staff, Intolligence Department of the Army Attention: Chiof, Counterintelligence Branch Security Division

Deputy Director, Plans

SUBJECT: ISAACS, Harold Robert

Reference to made to the request received on 14 October 1963 from Lt. Whipple concerning Subject. With respect to the specific questions posed in the request, Eubject is the author of a number of books. including No Peace in Asia, Five Years of Kuomintang Reaction, and Too Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution. The files contain no information concerning Subject's teaching at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology: however they do contain the following summary of unevaluated information based on several predecessor organisation reports. Additional information concerning Subject is contained in our SODB 20588, dated 2 December 1949, subject: Harold Robert ISACCS, a copy of which is attached for your retention.

a. Subject was employed as a staff writer for the Havas News Agency in Shanghai from 1930-1935. He was also editor and publisher of the China Forum, a communist periodical, from January 1932 to an unspecified date. In July 1932 ISAACS wrote and published the above-cited Five Years of Ruomintang Reaction, a 138-page illustrated book of Communist While in Shanghai he was a member of The nature. Society of Friends of the USSR (Shanghai Branch) and The China League for Civil Rights.

b. In 1933 Shanghai authorities listed Subject's wife, Viola ROBINSON, as a suspect Soviet agent residing in Shanghai. Prior to their marriage on 14 September 1932, ISAACS stated in a letter to Miss ROBINSON that he had definitely turned "Red." All the members of the ROBINSON family were described as Communists.

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- c. In July 1933 the Nanking Government ordered the Bunicipality of Greater Shanghai to take drastic measures to stop the propaganda appearing in a number of publications including the China Forum published by Subject. Subject's magazine allegedly published Communist propaganda; in this connection a protest was to be lodged against him with the American Consulate.
- d. Subject was described as a "self-confessed Communist" in 1933. The following year he wrote an article entitled "I Break With The Chinese Stalinists" which appeared in the September-October 1934 edition of The New International, a Communist propaganda organ published in New York.
- 2. An undated report from an unknown source indicated that Subject had turned against the Stalinist Covernment of the USSE, becoming a Trotskyite (probably during the mid-1930's). Friends of Subject stated that even during the height of his Trotskyist career he never accepted money from any group, that he was open and above board, and that he never engaged in any conspiracios to overthrow established government. They also stated that Subject was attracted to Communism by "sheer idealism." Immediately after Poarl Harbor, ISAACS broke with the Trotskyite group as he had broken with the Communists and began writing propaganda for the United States Government.
- S. According to a report dated 25 June 1951 from a fairly reliable source, Subject served at that time as a Ford Poundation advisor on Far Eastern Projects.
- 4. For additional information concerning Subject you are referred to the Federal Bureau of Investigation and to the Department of the Navy (no documentation available).

CBCI-3/778,880

Encl: lattachment as stated above.

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Based on: PE/1, 201-18446*
CHINA CIA OP 1, SMPD 2713, 10-11-32
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FF. Date of National TELEPHONE HEAREN FOR HARE CHRISE! FOR THE OF BY MARE CHRISE CONTROL DEFFOR. ACSI - Lt. Whipple via Jane Roman Takin Pr Moran ISAACS, Harold Robert WINTER CHARTE OF EAST born 1910 DAYE AND PLACE OF STRUCK WEMPATCHE CORDINATION UNER IDENTIFYING DATA KEPERVAICES . Author of many books on China - S. E. Asia Herold R. Isaacs authority on China A EDITOR fo 1772 Harold R. Isaacs teaches at MIT Summer Confidence are all the names the same person?

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4284 DISPATCH NO. _ SECRET CHADIDDUATION DATE 5. May 1956 Chief, NEA 10 .Chief of Station, FROM Operational/INTEL GENERAL Far Eastern Association 8th Annual Meeting, Request for Background and Operational Information SPECIFIC The program of the 8th Annual Recting of the Far Eastern Association, held in Phildelphia 3 - 5 April 1956, has just arrived here. It indicates that the association has already taken decided steps towards its announced expansion into the South Asian field. The station assumes that Headquarters covered the meeting and can get access now or later to copies of monographs, notes on proceedings, and so on. The following items. keyed to the program, would seem to be of interest if Headquarters can get them: A. On 3 April, Zakyo Eglar: "The World View of the Punjabi Villagor". (Note: This is quite likely the East Punjabi, but it should have some validity for Lahore as well as for Delhi.) On the same day, a Pakistan Studies Organization Keeting was held at 1700. It would be useful to know who is interested in Pakistan studies (both individuals and organizations) and what lines they are thinking of working on. On 5 April, all the items of a "South Asian Hiscallary" should be of considerable interest, particularly. Stanley Haron's "The Future of East Bengal". Hydecker had some early drafts of the Harold Isaacs study, but they are too early to provide any useful material; this project (at CENIS, MIT) is one that Headquarters should monitor closely, however. 2 May 1956 NRH/wrg Ve. 1/ Ho. Kelev Distributions NEIL R. HYDECKER - NEA

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RI COPY, 78-67-212

1000 3, 1955

Director

Federal Europu of Investigation Attentions Fr. S. J. Papich.

FROIT

Deputy Director, Plans

Collect: Formande Eschfella, also known as Fernando esquair . ACHES

- . 1. Reference is made to a communication from this Agency dated 30 August 1955; ceptioned as above, our reference US CI-2542.
- 2. Attached for your information law copy of a lotter writton by subject and addressed to the post office lox contioned in the referenced mammardum. The letter was signed by subject as FULY, his feminine pseudonym. It should also be explained that English is not subject's native language; therefore, the grammer and spalling used by subject in his letters are to be expected.
 - 3. This office interprets subject's latter as follows:
- a. Aint Josephine in Jose Laward, with whom subject has been in contact the past ocveral winths and the has been indestrirating subject with leftist ideology. LANDAR has not adultted to subject that he is a Communist, although in his conversations with subject he oticke very close to the current line of the Fullippine Communist Party (PKP).
- b. Marold ISMACS (FBI Pile No. 100-286243) is well known to the Bureau.
- c. Unclo MANUEL is probably the late Philippine President Manual CUECON, who sponsored Jose LANGENG's ontry into the United States in 1937 whom LANSANG studied at Columbia University. William Chitrit, Jr. has not yet been identified by this office.
- d. PEHLILIC, four is probably for Filedolfa PARLILIO, former Associate Professor of Machanies at the University of the Philippines. PINLILIO received his BEEN from the University of the Philippines and his M.S. and Ph.D. at the University of Michigan.

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LIGHT OF LIZED COASS

21-18446

Recording to a usually reliable course of this agency, Rabilly was moror cide to completely readjust to Philippine life efter having lived in the United States. He is known for his strong pro-Ambrican views and according to source probably his greatest desire is to reside permanently in the United Status. Although it is known that PAHETEIO was on friendly torks with Jose LANGARE there is no recomthat he chared LAISANG's political views.

- a. Fr. BRIEGHT to probably Father DELAMEY, Jesuit Chaptain at the University of the Philipphico.
- f. Cypros or Cyprus University may possibly be Syracuss University.
- 6. Life Like is probably hierric LADES, Phillippins nowspaparman who was allegodly apportated with Earry Exibits in the International longehorozon's and Errehousements Union (ILEC) in Monolulu. Lilled was born on 3 April 1915 in Manile, bewover, most of his life bes been spont in hawaii. The was naturalized a U.S. citishn in 1928 and rotured to the Philippines in 1949, where he lost his U.S. citisenship in 1952. There is no information in the files of this office which indicates that LIBEZ has returned to Banail. For additional information concerning table, reference in made to a mammardum to the Bureau, dated 23 Revender 1949, subjects "Ricardo LADER (eka Ricardo LAVEE)", our reference 50 ES-10307.
- h. Unclo Min is Kai Curudill, Unclo Difff Did is Bultesar CUTICAN with whom the Bureau to femiliar as a result of provious correspondence concerning his deschor, termin Jane CUTICAL (FBI File No. 105-52561). From the wording of subject's Lotter this office degrees that Beltaner CUYBOR! in Every that the Foloral Duronu of Investigation is insectigating for CUTTAIN. It also appears that Haltaner CUYUGAN gays subject a letter to deliver perconally to his Erother for CUNIGES, possibly to avoid a mail intercept by the Riveri. It should be noted that subject stated that he mailed the letter instead.
- 4. In view of the consitiveness of the source of the above information, it is requested that no further dissemination be made of the information without prior clearance with this igoncy.

Attachment - A copy of a lotter (/ Addressed | coly)

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201-18446

FBI DOCUMENTS AS FOLLOWS:

DATE: 26 MAY 1955 CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL SUBJECT: HAROLD ROBERT ISAACS FBT. FILE #: 100-286243 (BUREAU)

DATE: 19 MAR 1954 CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL SUBJECT: HAROLD ROBERT ISAACS FBI FILE #: 100-286243 (BUREAU

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DATE: 27 JAN 54
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FBI REPORT
DATE: 6 OCTOBER 1952
CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL
SUBJECT: JOHN KING FAIRBANK
FBI FILE #: 77-24341 (BUREAU)

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FBI REPORT

DATE: 26 MAY 1952

CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL
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FACE

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

INSTRUCTIONS.—Officer designations should be used in the "TO" column. Under each comment a line should be drawn across sheet and each comment numbered to correspond with the number in the "TO" column. Each officer should initial (check mark insufficient) before further souting. This Record and Routing Sheet should be returned to Registry.

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DATE: T February 1982

Abbas Ale Contract Division, Or

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le Doctored is a copy of an orticle present for reblication in the Contation Science Todation by a former editor of the Shanshai Digitalistic to a comment of the sant yet is a published and probably will not be published because of its limits.

Biglesune (A) as listed above.

. Copy

1. A happy enting has been written in the case of verris last class, former Communist who is now secretary of the Communist hope lamorial idential of Denver. He has been present in Machington for "disclosing his Communist

him in his job.

2. No doubt all this is fitting and proper but it doesn't encour the question of why nobody in Donyer poors to have known snything about Appointn's Rod-tinged pant, or why there was anything scuentional about his revelation of it in Washington. Jule the police rists is rightly anathems to American citizens, it seems remarkable that official records should not be in existence and reasonably accessable to people with reason to check up on such a point as past Communist service.

paste, and his board of directors has voted confluence in him and continued

- J. The point about Appelmin is not that he did anything particularly reprehensible, but that what he did was quite in the open. According to the Eashington tentisony he served the Correlate party, apparently without special concealment, in Runnia, Germany and other points in lureje, going around the world between 1924 and 1936. He sought to relieve that and Grace granish in the editorship of a Shanghai kutlish-language Communist magazine, "The Voice of China", in 1937, he testified, but didn't not off his ship in Shanghai because of the heatilities there at the time.
- 4. This shells something of a light on the supposedly fearless and ruthless Communist operations throughout the world. I was in thanghai when fighting broke out there between Japan and China on Aug. 13, 1937, and can testify that we had three months of directong warfare before the campaign moved inhund. Juring that period a good many people left for obvious. reasons, but some came in, and it might be presumed that an accredited agent of international Communican would at least have paused in nearby Kobe or Howking till things calmed down a little. Possibly the Communists are as subject to qualms about personal safety as anyone else-or more so.
- 5. About "The Voice of Chinn" there could hardly be any illusion in the mind of anyone who had cared to pay the slightest attention to it. Each issue bere a virtual advertisement of its Communist allegiance on its front cover, to those familiar with methods of converting Chinese into English. The mass "Voice of China" appeared in both English and Chinese, and in the Chinese a peculiar Soviet-originated system of Rusanization was used so that what is ordinarily, by conventional made system, written "Ching News" for China was spelled "Ching News" on extraordinary effect frankly explaining the publication's emergation.
- 6. But what was more, Enrold Teases, the editor who preceded the Graniches, had done considerably more than was conveyed by precedifferentes from the Washington hearings of the House Un-American Activities Committee. These said he was "believed to have deviated from Communist policy" whereas in fact he challenged with the Chinese Communists and their Moscow patrons

(

completely with an article headed "I break with Stalinism." This gave a capital elucidation of the Communist financial backing of the "Voice of China" and if anyone either in or out of official life had previously suffered any illusions as to its nature, Isaacs article—published sleet where than in the "Voice", of course—certainly should have dispelled them.

- 7. The Granichs seem to have lived quietly in Shanghal and were little known, which under the circumstances was hardly auryrising since they were running an obviously Communiaterman. Ching Rai-elek's forces could not moddle with them openly, for at that time Than had was an international city operated under extrateritoriality. But the Nationalist secret police did create seem trouble for the "Voice" and them consul-General Charence E. Gauss was allegally reprincipled by the State Department in 1937 for not doing more to holp them as Americans. Inchnically they were entitled to full American protection but Laws, now with the import—xport hank in washington, D. G., was a sert of Old Curmungeon of the Champhal American community and it seems that he thought it his meral obligation to let them fry in any trouble they night got into as Community agents. Gauss can't have suffered greatly for this in the eyes of his superiors, for he was later promoted to arbassador both to China and to Australia.
- 8. This background has some present importance since an American magazine is being operated today in Communist Shanhai, which tolorates no criticism or opposition. Originally pro-Matiemalist under the late.

 J. H. Porell, it has been friendly toward the Comminists under his conjudent William wheel, and it stayed on after most other American enterprises—including that daily Shanghai Evening Font and Exercise, edited by myself—had shut down and American officials had loft Red Giana.
- 9. Refere they departed, these officials had reason to compile an extensive file on what is now the China tenthly Review. One incident which is known to have irked then was the Haviors's treatment of the case of Fillian Olive, American consular official, in the summer of 1949 scen after the Communists had taken over. Clive blundered into a traffic conflict with the Communist police, was taken to first one and them a second police station, and in the course of several days' imprisonment he was severely beaten with fists and gunbutts, kicked and otherwise maltreated. Formil's Review blandly professed to have little information on the matter but gave an account unfavorable to Clive. Then consular officials asked fowell to come to the consulate and look Olive over and get the full story, he failed to show up. This and other matters were recorded in some detail but in view of the background of American intelligence operation, one may question whether these details will ever be hauled out of the files.
- 10. More recently, copies of the Review have been slamted strongly equinst the Americans and the United Nations cause in Morea and one insue editorially spoke of the United States as "the energy." It should not be difficult to preserve continuity in following such a case of American pro-Communist activity abroad, though nothing could be done to Powell unless

C. T. W.

CO. WELLING OF PAR

or intil he decided to return to his own country—and even ther, the country nature of American laws on this general subject make it hard to tril what could be done solds from perhaps denyin; another reseport to go alread again.

ll. The important thing, as shown by a long list of eases gravely investigated by congruent and consistent, is to have the postum Central Intelligence Agency or some congrable group such as the Foieral Dureau of Investigation keep track of the wealth of information available. Too much waste effort goes into the many duplications of inquiry.

COLL SIMM

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cater, 3t ff d, con ... Star Miss Jame Rivelow Guler, Contact Division, On

7. February 1952

CE Different membro-Communist montiment of US Sationals in China

le Enclosed is a copy of an article present for publication in the Cirietian Science Louisur by a former editor of the Shanghai Enclosed more personal and britished and probably will not be published because of its length.

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203 1811, Shanghai Kuncipal Files; filed 16-4-2- 37

ISAACS, Harold Robort

Born 13 Sept 1910, Mrc

Nat'l American

DESCRIPTION.

Holgint 4090

Build . modium :

Half way, black, way, brushed back

Total boy Come in a

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DOCUMENTATION

In 30s was traveling on passport & 177026

Arrived in China from Manila on 10 Dec 1930

Upper the arrival joined the editorial staff of the Shanghai Evoning Post and Marcury

Was a secretary of the MULLINS Defense Committee and a member of the Soulety of

On 12 June 1991, ISAACS and his friend ELASS took a trip up the language During this trip ISAACS wrote his figures, Viola ROBINSON, that he had decided to taken " Rods" as a result of convergations with GLASS.

The two returned to Shanghai in Aug 1932 and took up residence at # 128 Weihaiwei

ISAACS later started and become the editor and published of the "China Porum" wideh at first was job-printed but from Oct 1932 on was printed by the Level Publishing Cot. ISC, \$ 33, Lans 478 Tiendong Road, Shangbai ISAACS openedly stated he was manager of the printing co and cuned LOM of its shared.

On 7 Aug 1933; Islacs and his wife Viola RCBINSON when he had married in Sept. 1932 left Changini for Japan on the 35 Hagasaki Maru: On 16 Aug, they proceeded to Japan, returning to Shanghai on Aug 26th.

Inaddition to his other activities, ISAACS was also employed with the HavaiMens Agency around Dec 1933.

In Des 1939, ISAACS was in Poochow to gether let hand info re the newly formed "Peolphic Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Coins."

In the spring of 1936, ISAACS and his wife left for Themtoin on route to Peking at which city he resided at \$ 2 Tung Fu Chia Tao, East City. Felding mailing address was \$ Mr. UNUMARN, Grand Hotel:

On 3 January 1994, ISAACS visited Hr and Hrs. HOULENS while they were on a imager strike in prison

On 14 January 1935; the parents of ISAACS, Mr and Mrs I.H. ISAACS arrived in Shanghai from Los Angeles; During their stay in Shanghai they resided at the Metro-pullbatel Annex. On 20 February they left Shanghai for Port Said on route to Marseilles on the 33 Rawalpindi

On & April 1936, ISAACS under the pen name of Lo Sen had an article published in ylo New Militant, the organ of the BY District Worker's Farty. The article was an attack on Stalin and as entitled stalintern ready to embrace Chian And Sheke 1931. Officer Chiange Red Army in return for resurrection of disasterous 1927 bloods. At this came time, ISAACS was also lecturing on Japan, China, and the USSR and the War Crisis in the Far Easte.

But the and and a first the second of the se

1 Shanghai Mani Polic e Piles, filed, 16-4-2-37, p 2

In Shanghai GLASS made the acquaintance of one Demarco C.D333, American from Kansas City, born 1893. This was some time after April 1932.

Hame C.F. GLASS r Cecil Prank GLASS Born 25 Harch 1901, Birminghes, England

Passport British passport, # 95153, issued 5 Jan 1931 in Pretoria, South Africa Pol Affiliation Kumber of the CP Overt Profession Journalist

Believed to have left England in the early 1920s for South Africa where he resided at Johnnesburg for many years.
-- Arrived in Shangani from Dorbes May 1931

On 12 June 1931 made a trip terrough up the Yestgeboo Yangteze with Harold IS was American Communist and writer for the editor of the China Forms: A letter written by ISA CS to his fiances, Miss Viola BOBINSON, during this trip contained information that ISAACS had decided to turn " Red" as a result of his convergation with GLASS."

In Sept 1931, GLASS became a member of the WHATTENS Defense Committees and two conths later was appointed Shanghai Representative of the Anglo-Asiatic T elegraph Agency(Angasta) a news agency with HQ in Harbin, which position he held until 1933; In Augl933; he was living in Room 510,5 1276, North Sagehuen Road, Shanghai

EGS 1811; Shanghai Muniopal Piles, file: 16-4-2-37

Delison, Wools 6 Ers; Her: Isaacs

Hat'l American

Description Holgat Hold Blin Comple fair

Commentation :

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In 1932 holder of US passport \$ 382046 issued HTC 14 May 1931

History

In 1931 known to have visited Germany

Known Communist and follower of Lucy STORE

Arrived in Shanghai on 23 Aug 1932

14 Sept 1932 married Harold Robert ISLACS. She had been engaged to ISLACS for some years before her arrival in China, and it has been stated that the letters between the two indicated that Communist sympathies on the part of both and of ISLACS' intention of joining the CF

After her arrival in China was employed at the Dah Chung Middle School;

She lived in the Babankment Building Bldg, North Scochow Road

On 7 August 1933, the ISAICS left Shanghai for Japan and on 16 Aug 1933 proceeded to Dairon, returning to Shanghai by rail of 26 August 1933.

In Now 1933, info was received to the effect that Hiss R. 31MSCH was a teacher

AUG 14 1351
MILLIARATURA LOVISSON
SSERS — STALL

Harold Robert ISAACS with aliases 10 Said (pennane used in China)

Harald Robert ISAACS was born in New York City on 13 September 1910 of American parents. Has father has been reported as a decidedly of the commercial type, a LIAACS has been described as intelligent, critical, persons and nervously organized.

Little is known concerning the activities of ISACS prior to his arrival in China from Manila on 10 December 1930; however, who visited ISACS in Tone to be date in Shanghei, in reported to have embarrassed his son in the presence of friends by "kiddings the latter about trying to make money on real estate while in Los Angeles before going to China.

The actual date when Cecil Frank GLASS and Harold ISLACS is not known, but it must have been shortly after the arrival of GLASS in Snanghai in May 1931, for in June 1931, ISLACS and GLASS made a trip up the Yangtese together.

It has been stated that ISLACS became interested in Communism with specific relation to China, but lotters written by ISLACS to his fiances, Viola ROBINSON, and chatch-to- of his trip with GLISS, are chatch to decises.

IT has reconstituted that ISAACS became interested in Communical appearing relation to China; it has also been stated that letters between ISAACS and his fiance, Viola ROSINSON, which were written during the Yangtsze trip indicated Communist sympathies on the part of both, and one of the letters contained the information that ISAACS had decided to turn # Rod# as a result of his convergations with GLASS.As you are aware, ISAACS and GLASS returned to Shanghai in August 1931 and took up residence At 128 Weibniwei Read. In September 1931; both men are reported to have become members of the ROLLEGS Defense Committee, ISAACS being the Secretary.

I will believe a second of the street

Upon his arrival in China, ISA-CS joined the editorial staff of the Shanghai Evening Post and the Mercury. ISA-CS was also employed with the Havas News Agency, which connection has is reported to have severed around December 1933;

ISAACS also started and later became editor and published of the " China Forus."

It is believed to have been

It is believed to have been

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Hereury Press. From October 1932 on it was printed by the Level Publis ing Company

Inc., 33, Lane A78, Tiendong Road. ISAACS is reported to have openly stated that

he sas manager of the pringting company, owing AOS of the shares.

It has been stated that those who knew ISIACS in Shanghai found no reason to think he was a d pay off's man for A erican Communists, and that during the first cart of his stay in Chins, he was not a follower of Trotaly. However, he is reported to have finally become convinced that the tatics of the Chinese Communists were arong and that Trotaly was stable in criticising them, and the deviat Government under Stalin. He therefore wrote an article antitled, " I Break with Edelia to Stalinists," in which among other things; he is reported to have stated that the expense of publishing the magnatine had been b shed by the Chinese Communists, He is then deported to have discontinued the magnatine and to have cold the printing equipment, the sum being realized from the sale not being turned back to the Chinese Communists but to have been given to the Tretaly cause.

ISAACS had been engaged for several years to Viola RUBINSON who arrived in
Shanghai as 33 August 1932. On 14 September 1932, she and ISAACS were parried and took
Apt 204, the
up residence in see Embarkment Building on North Soccher Road, Prior to the fall of
1933; Irene HITHATIA or TALMATER of the a subject in the SORGE Case is reported
to have lived in the E-bankment Building with one Reneo EMALL. Bold AUDOUAHD and his
wife who have been reported as Soviet sympathiams and were who were known to have

been in close contact with E E KICH when the latter was in China also lived in this building in the early 1930s An Apartment 509.

After her arrival in China, Viola ROBINGON ISLACS was employed at the Dah Coung Middle School, and by Hovember 1933 was reported as a teacher at the Comparative Len School in Shanghai.

On I August 1983, the ISAACS lost Shangiel for Jopan, and on 16 August 1933
December
proceeded to Calren, returning to Shanghai by rell on 26 August 1933. In Education
1933 ISAACS left Shanghai for Procedure to gather first hand information on the newly
formed 6 People's Revolutionary Government of the Republic of China.

In Jo wery look, ISAACS is reported to have visited Mrs. and Mrs. NCULFIS while they were on a hunger strike in prison. In the spring of 1934, ISAACS and his wife left for Tointain as route to Poking at which city, they resided at 2. Tiung Pu Cais Tao, East City. His mailing address was 3 of one Mrs. UNINAMN, Grand Hotel, Poking.

La has been set out heretofore, ISLACS is reported to have turned against the Stalinist Covernment of the USSE, becoming a Trotskite: During this period he wrote the "Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution," allegedly as a single gesture of interpretation and protest to show how, in his opidion, both the Kuchintang and the Communiste had gone arong in China. Les in April 1936, under the pan name of the Jon, ISLACS had an article published in the "Hew Militant;" the argent of the was reportedly an attack on Stalin and was entitled, " Stalintorn ready to embrace Chiang Kai Shok.".)." Officer Shinese Red from in Return for resoursetion of disasterous 1977 bloc."

It has been stated by friends of ISAAS even curing the height of his Trotskylst carear, he never accepted money from any group; that he was open and above
board; and that he never engaged in any conspiracies to overthrow established government. They are also reported to have stated that ITACS was attracted to Communican
by Shaheer idealism.

It has been further reported that in ediately after Pearl Harbor; ISLACS brokes with the Protelyite group as he had broken with the Communists; and began writing propagands for the United States Governments

Semetime in the late 1930s, TS/ASS returned to the United States. By the Sold. Until the fall of France, he was employed by the Havas News Agency. In October 1943, of 1943, he was working for Hewayeek Magazine in Washington, D.C. His address at that time was Priendship Heights, Newport Ave., 4936.

However, having this period, he had a great deal of trouble about consorable, and reportedly was defined permission to visit Communict areas. It has been stated that actually he was marely unfortunate in that he applied just after the government had restored its has an journalistic travel in that direction. At the time he had has decied permission, whereas will also fine had just been allowed to go, and ISAACS falt that he was being discreminated againsable has been stated that White, upon his return gave much a cool account of administration in the Red areas that this added to other aimilar experiences; solidified the government's determination no to let any more amarican accordances. By go up and become Communical converts. In March 1945; ISAACS

The following descriptions of Marold and Viola ISAACS are set out for your

Purold ISACS Viola R. 137ACS Born. 10; July 1910; MC 13 Sept. 1910, HTC Nat'l American American 5190 Height 4150 Build medium Hair . black, mayy, brushed back prom Eyes . Comple

Passports in early 1930a US Passport # 177026

Use passport # 382016 Assued NIC 14 May

The addition to Agnes SHEDLEY and Frank GLA 35 ISAACS is known to have been in contact with the following while in China i:

the state of the s . Filliam DURDIN. For a time during his stay in China, Islace is reported to have

Elived with DURDIN, then correspondent of the HT Times and meses at one time, managing editor of 9 China Pressis

THE PROPERTY OF THE PERSON OF Solm'K. MUHRAY, Shanghai representative of the Pacific Hers Agency in Vandouver. All As also known to have been in contact with E.E. MISCH, Agnes SICHLAY,

Irono TATRIBVER or WEDDENKIR and one 91 BOVER curing his stey in China.

AUG 14 120 INTERNATION

PUBLICATIONS

Strote an article entitled " I Brook with the Stalinists" which allegally among other things, that the expenses of subliching a magazine which he was putting out

ab a commercial joy(sic) from the Horoury Press and later printed from a small printing cutfit purchased by ISAACS. It has been stated that after publishing the article of Break with the Stalinists, a ISAACS discontinued the angazine and sold its printing equipment. It has been stated that the angazine and sold its printing equipment. It has been stated that the small sum realised from the sale was not turned back to the Chinese Communists but was turned over to the Trotaky Cause.

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donesia, and on 14 Nov. 51 was interest	ies of the individuals named below. Durdin, the Far East, was finally located in Djakarta and, in accordance eith your request, and the
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FBI REPORT

FBI REPORT
DATE: 5 DEC. 51
CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL
SUBJ: PAUL RUEGG, WAS: HILAIRE NOULENS,
AND OTHERS
FBI FILE #: 100-344906 (BUREAU)

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY.

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THE RESIDENCE OF THE PERSON OF

S. A. S. R. AND FR.

7 November 1951

Assistant Director for Policy Coordination Attention: Security Officer Chief, Special Security Division

Harold R. Isaacs

- 1. Reference is made to a memorandum from your office dated 3 July 1951 in which you requested that a Special Inquiry be conducted to resolve information concerning an allegation that Subject is sympathetic to and/or connected with Communist activities.
- 2. On 31 August 1951, Mr. of the Security Office was advised that partial results have been received as a result of inquiries at several national agencies. The partial information reflected that Subject had been connected with at least two factions of the Communist Party while living in the Far East. It was suggested that extreme caution be used in contacting or associating with the Subject.
- 3. This office has completed the investigation of the Subject, which includes a check of records of the appropriate Federal
 agencies. As a result of this investigation, the files of this
 office contain a great deal of information concerning Subject's
 association with questionable organizations and individuals.
 Although Subject has denied any current activities with the Communist Party, his associations and activities are highly questionable
 and his political sympathy has not been unqualifiedly resolved at
 the present time.
- 4. In view of the information as set forth above, it is recommended that extreme caution be exercised in dealing with the Subject. Under no circumstances should Subject be contacted with regard to possible use by this agency prior to receiving a final security determination by this office.

FOR THE SECURITY OFFICER, CIA

ROBERT H. CUNNINGHAM

SEGRET

OFFICIAL DISPATCH

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LLITO GEORGE	COORDINATING OFFICER	AUTHENTICATING OFFICE
aller, ma		GROBIA W. MALLERY
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agents for the Third International in Unnached . .

- 4. In addition to the above individuals, Durdin is also reported to have been an acquaintance in Shangari about 1932-33 of George Alexander Ershall, who is presently exployed at Yale University. Examily was an acquaintense of ISAACS and was also reported to have been associated with "Left-wing groups" and property at that time.
- 6. In view of the above Libertal desires that Durain be interviewed as soon as possible relative to the angularities acquaintence and association with MEISHATT, IRAACH, CLASS, BUCKER, MINETT. Durain is requested to comment particularly concerning may soft these individuals on behalf of the CP or the inited international, whether may may have been encayed in aspirage activities on behalf of the Seviet Union, either curing the saving 1970's in China, or at my subsequent periodo

GEORGE W. MALLORY



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Anlied States Department of disetted Lederal Surray of Investigation Sachington 24, N. C.

CCHTICKETTAL BY SPECIAL MASSERGER

DFB-11880.

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Da ta .

September 11, 1951

To,

Director Control Intelligence Agency 2430 S Street, N. V. Enshington, D. C.

Attention: Major Omeral W. C. Byenn Office of Special Operations

Fran:

John Edgar Hoover - Director Foderal Bureau of Investigation

stoctda2

TILLMAN DERDIN INTERNAL SECURITY - R

In correction with an afficial investigation being conducted by this Bureau, we are decirous of obtaining emptain information from Mr. Fillman Durdin, who is presently located c/o Heng Kong, Tigger Standard, 108 Findsor House, Victoria, Bong Kong. It would be appreciated if you would have one of your representatives interview Mr. Furdin in Fong Kong along the lims set out tolog.

For your information, Dardin is a foreign correspondent for the law York Times messpaper. He is an American citizen born Heren 19, 1907, at Elebart, Texas, and has been employed as a foreign correspondent for the Hew York Times for many years, possibly since at least the early 1930 s.

A reliable informant has edvised that in 1939 Dardin was in Shanghai, China, acting as City Editor of the newspaper China Prose. P. At that time Dardin was said to be sharing an operturnt with Process Desirablett, described as an American citizen than in China as a newspaper reporter.

According to our informant, Enishlatt was at that time a close associate of one Harold Icases. Issaes, an American citizen presently living in law York City, was said by our informant to have been exployed

in Thenghal in 1933 as Editor of the "China Forum," described as a Communist publication. A source of unknown reliability has stated that in 1933 favore was a "notorious redical sympathiter" and was supported of being an arent of the Third International. Issues was cald to have unjunized the Shanghal Committee for the Defence of the Russian of Foul and Centrals Always were convicted in Chica in 1932 for Russian officease activities.

In March, 1969 that Sureau interviewed one March india Applement, on American citizen presently living in Denver, Coloredo, and Applement educated beving been a number of the Communist Party 1700 1901 to 1937. Applement stated that in 1923 and 1936 he knew Dardin to Sherghal, and that during that period, he, Applement Harold issues, Frank Mass and Alexander Suchrar, frequently held meetings at the home of Millian Dardic in Suanghal.

Frank Class is a a fitial citizen presently Living in Les Angeles, california. Buthean is an American citizen siso presently living to Ma Angeles. Morris applican described Issaes and Glass as increasing in 1933-34, and described Euchema as a former member of the Communist Youth League in the United States. An informant of unknown reliability has also reported that during that period Glass and Issaes were suspented of being agents for the Third International in Shanghas.

In addition to the above individuals, Durdin is also reported to have been an acquaintance in Shanghai in about 1932-33 of George Alexander Kennedy, an Assarican citizen presently employed at Yalo University. Kernedy was an acquaintance of Earold Isancs at that time, and was also reported to have been associated with "left-wing groups" in Changhai at that time,

In view of the information indicating that Mr. Durdin was acquainted with these individuals during the carry 1930's, it is desired that he be interserved relative to the extent of his acquaintance and association with the following: Frank Joseph Beinblatt, Sarold Issues, Prank Joseph Alexander Buchman, and George Alexander Kennedy.

any information he may possess concerning any activities of these individuals on length of the Formulat Party or the Third International. During any information individuals on length of the Formulat Party or the Third International. During amount about the same individuals may have engaged in espiciance activities on behalf of the Soviet Union, either during the early 1930's in China or at any during party in the same individuals. It is desired that full details he obtained from

Mr. burdle relative to any information be may furnish concerning possible subversive activities on the part of any of these individuals.

It would be appreciated if you would endeavor to have the Parlie interviewed at the earliest results date.

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET 2 INSTRUCTIONS: Officer designations should be used in the "TO" column. Under each cland each comment membered to correspond with the elember in the "TO" reduce. Each before further routing. This Routing and Record Sheet should be returned to Registry. IR COMMENTS . 11:35 2006 Flug 21aug to Dissam - inaccurat M. Hons Pars quiered re recent whereabout Figuires. X ref feled 201-18446 DITELLIGENCE

FORM NO. 81-10

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Frome	Papart No.: -89
No. of pages 1	Snelosures: None
Report Fade by Walter J. Ingold	Approved by
Distribution: None	Referencer and WASH 01125
Company Dinic-2	

- 1. In our last message to Tunic-2 on 50 July we used the discrepancy concerning Leo Figueres' visit to NVN as an example in a gentle lecture on the virtues of accurate reporting. By I August Tunic-2 answered back. The man obviously takes pride in his work.
- 2. An ope comment relating to this report will be sent in another pouch or via cable.

HS GARY

SECRET

Subject: Leo Figueros	Roport No. 1 -89
	Date of Info: as indicated
Place Acquired:	Date Acquireds 1 August 51
Svaluation: B-3	Date of Reports 2 August 51
Source:	

According to who works in the Viet Ninh Einistry of Foreign Affairs, Leo Figueres was in Saigon in early 1990. The French did not allow him to remain in Saigon and he was forced to return to France. Figueres later went to Hong Kong in late August 1990, and then proceeded to the Viet Eac via the Hoa Ham (F.C.; South China I) road to attend the Third Congress of the FCI held in early Octuber 1990.

2. There had been several provious cases of individuals who were unable to reach Viet Linh territory from Salgon because of French interference. In July 1949 Er. A. Noth, Eliter of the Sunday Tritune, arrived in Salgon and obtained all necessary papers; the French did not allow him to proceed because of his pro-Communist articles. Others were Walter Briggs of the Christian Science Monitor, harold Tonacs from Newswook, and 8. If Percinan (because he criticized Rao Dai in meetward, Ho!).

SECRET

FBI REPORT DATE: JULY 51
CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL
SUBJ: UNKNOWN
FBI FILE #: 100-68282 (NEW YORK)

Pt/cs

KEMORANDUM FORT

- : Harold R. Isaacs, Request for an information namechicak on.
- It is requested that a name check for information be conducted on Subject for the purpose of determining the valide ity of charges that Subject is sympathetic to and/or connected with Communist activities.
- 2: He have been informed unofficially that Subject is ourrontly employed by the Ford Foundation as an advisor on Far East projects. Then one of our covert agents was recently called upon by the Ford Foundation to present some suggestions for a Far Bast program, the agent found that Subject was interested in and was to be closely connected with this program. It is planned that the Ford Foundation remains unsware of the CIA connection with this covert agent.

	8.	When	the	report	18	completed.	the	information	Stunda
po.	routed	to [B-1/or	3		energy freth

Deputy Chief, FE-1

FU-1/JBA/ph

Dist: Orig & 1 - Addressee

2 - Registry.

1 - FE-1 files

NAME: Harold R. Isanos

ADDRESS (last known - '48): 883 Contral Park West, H.Y.C.

DATE OF BIRTH: 1910

MATICALITY: American

- BUSINESS CARUER: (a) Staff writer for Havas News Agency (1930-1935)
 - (b) Editor of China Forum
 - (c) City Editor for China Press, Shanghai,
 - (d) Far Eastern War Correspondent for Kowswook (1944-1945)
 - (e) Special Projects Editor for Lowswerk (1947 ?)
 - (f) Advisor to Ford Foundation

PUBLICATIONS:

- 1. Contributed to Harper's Magazine and Toronto Star Neekly.
- 2. Books: (soo attached)

- 1. Two-Thirds of the Borld: Problems of a new approach to the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin-America. 1920
- 2. Now Cycle in Asia: Solocted documents on Major International developments in Far Sast. 1963 and 1947 notes and introduction 1867.
- 3. Ke Fence for Asia 1947.
- 4. Tradery of Chinese Revolution 1938 -
- 5. Five Years of Euo Min Tang Reaction 1932
- 6. Mither Presico 1936 Lea Trotaky wrote the book and Issaes translated it.

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page 69

The July 30, 1932 issue of the New York Times", under a Shahghai Dateline of Jule 29, 1932, states that Harold R. Isaacs, an American citizen., was warned by the U. S. consul in Shahghai that the U. S. may with draw tak tak its extra territirial rights and allow him to be tried in a Chinese Court. Isaacs, then editor of the "China Forum", had violently attacked Chiang Kai-Shek, calling him among other things, a butcher. The article further stated that issaes was as associate of Agnes Smedley, a correspondedt for American newspapers. The arch 7, 1946 issue of the New York imes reflects an article captioned "Broup of Americans, including writers and journalists announced that they had sent aletter to Chaing Kai Shek concerning the death of Yang Chao, OWI employee, who was arrested by the Kationalists and ided in prison. The sighers were critical of the treatment recieved by CHAO. THE FOLLOWING INDIVIDUAL Maxwell S. stewart. Elizabeth Ames, Maroline Slade, signed the leter: Alfred Kazin , Eric Severeid, Richard Wasts, jr. H. R. Isaacs, Agnes Smedley and Theordore White.

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(7-46)

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

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is also

READERADOUR FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Attention: Tr. Poss H. ingereall

Subjecti omarold hobert Inako



l. This to in reply to br. Jack b. Rool's request for information concerning harold Robert ISAACS, ands by telephone on 29 Hovenher 1949.

201-18.00 2. According to information obtained from a source considered relicing, harold sobert ISAACS and born in Non-Jork City on 13 Sentgaper 1919. A he arrived in han that from sanila in December 1930 and has in porceasion of Marioan passport 177026. IM-05 was first employed in changent by the hangast evening out & Percury, an inglish language delly published in then hal. After a few reaks, he became especiated with the China trage. another fuglish-language daily published in hanghat, and sae with this paper until say 1931. In case of the sace your liable made a trip us the langue Fiver with Cacil Frank CLATO, a critish subject and member of the ritish Communist Party, suspected of teing an agent for the Tiled International in China.

3. On 15 June 1931, Filaire NOULENS, with alianes, and arrested by the Whanghai Municipal Colice on charges of espionage in benefit of the Third international. ISAACS became the chammal secretary of the coult linteremationale four la defense de faul et Gertrude Ruege (RECLESS), a committee formed to sid the NEULENSs in their defense egainst charges of ceptonage preferred by the Chinese government. Our files reflect that ISAATE was in correspondence with fill BURLEREER, the Provident of the Committee with hosedquarters in Perlic. Will MERG was an active agent in dersony for the Third International. ISANCS is also known to here back in contact with agree SMECHEY in Shanghai at this time. --- (MRS) HAROLO R TRANS

CIT: USA OCC - COMMUNIST AGENT? WIFE OF MAROLD ROPPLET 25AACS (201-18406)

40 CO 29 August 1932, 15AACS gave notice to the Aperican formulate

General in Changhai of his intended parriage to (188) Violo Month, Ag merican citizen torn 10 June 1910 in her lots ily finise will and arrived in hanghai on 25 August 1932 from Canoniver, Canada, abourd the "express of Asia", and was in jo seasion of American passport 382046 issued in Her York on 14 May 1911. The modding was held on 14 September 1932 at the American Conculate General, also ROWLANDS man believes to

have been connected with too maint activities in the United States and Union. Serrospondence between long, and the Wolfer a prior to their marriage, equicates that they were both associated to activities being conducted by the termunious in thins. On 20 General 1932, the Collection bear entrusted by Dr. Secar than 1125 by the Notice defends etteracy, with teaching the rights language to Final Notice, the four-year old some of allairs and hertrise Hollings.

2. On 4 April 1936, ISA CD, under the pseudourn of LD SEM, our liebed an article in the Few Militant, organ of the orivitat orders larty in Heu Mork, entitled Mitalintern Seady to Labrace Chiang Saleshek and Cifer Sed array in Letura for Resurrection of the Massirpus 1927 Slove it is bolieved that Lake Lake Joined the Fourth International, organized by Trotaky subsequent to the latter's exile from Russia.

b. During forld for II ICARCH was a mar correspondent for beneveck in China. In July 1945 he for refused entry into think by Chinaco saltionalist buthorities, presumably as a result of anti-matimalist articles written by ICARCH for Reservok.

7. Barold Webert I.A.C. is currently opecial features iditor for "expect," 152 heat 42nd street, hen York, Hen York. He is the author of expect books, including he feate in Asia and the Travely of the Univers Sevelption. ISAACS current political beliefs are unknown to this syange.

6. Should Indan's leave this country, this ignory sould appreciate being advised of his intended destination, dete of departure and any other pertinent details.

FOR THE DIRECTOR OF CERTRAL EXTELLIGENCE.

BOREAT A. BORDT

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Para. 17 Harold "obert Isaacs was born in New Y'rk City on 3 Sept. 1910 and held USA passport 177026. He was the editor and Publisher of the China Forum. a Shanghai Communist periodical first published in 1932: the secretary of the Muolens Defense Committee; a member of the Shahghai branch of society of Friends of the USSR and of China League for Civil Rights. He arrived in Shanghai from Manila in Dec. 1930 and worked for Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury, swithing after a few weeks to the China Press ehere he was employed until ,931 (May). In June 1931 Isaacs took a trip up the Yangtze with . Erank Glass, a Brigish Communist and suspected Third International agent. A lastitum R letter wiritten by Isaacs to his fiance, Viola Robinson stated that he was turning "Red" as a result of conversations with GLASS. Ather statements indicated athat Miss Robinson an American then in Germany, was an active member of the community Party. Isaacs used the pseddonym of Lo Sen and published in the Mew Hilitantm organ of the New York Dist. Norkers Party, an attack on Stalin entitled Stalintern Ready to Embrace Chiang Kai shek. In 1949 Isaacs was in the employ of the ?American magazine NEW York City, as special projects editor.

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XA BRANCH REPORT

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1 CAPT. BLUECHELL, ATTN: LT BARRETTE INFO DATE : 7 Dec 45

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GRABILL NO. PAGES

INTERVIEW SETWEN MR. MAROLD ISAACS, MR. CHARLES TAMBU, AND ER. DIAM.

SOURCES: Mr. Carles Tabbu, Malaya born Tamil, formarly employed on Singapore newspapers, newscaster for Singapore radio, English-speaking amounter on Satavic Radio during occupation, and presently editor of newspaper Independent.

Br. Diah, editor of Mardeka, nationalist novepaper, Batavia.

E/ALUATION: 8-3, except as noted.

The subject interview was held at the request of Fr. Isaacs in line with his Jesire to talk with leading figures of Indonesian nationalist movement who held no official government position.

CIRCULATION OF KTADYIA

asked about present elroulation of MEROEXA, Er. Diah replied with the following; MANDEAA is the largest Indenesian newspaper on the island of Java. At present it is printed only in Batavia, with a daily total circulation of about 13,000 copies. Of this number, approximately 6,000 copies are sent out of the city by train to Bandoeng, Soerakarta, and Djokjakarta, leaving a Satavia circulation of between 10,000 and 14,000 copies. Source expressed the opinion that while the Indonesian population of Catavia is in the neighborhood of 500,000 persons, the literacy rate is perhaps only twenty percent of this figure. Thus, he admitted, MEIDELA is probably reaching less than four percent of the total Indonesian population of Batavia, despite the fact that Datavia is probably the most literate area on the island of Java because of corcentration here of all the governmontal functions, prever and present.

When questioned as to why his circulation was so inconsistent with the potential reading population, source replied that he was handleapped by lack of paper. He expressed the opinion that a circulation of 50,000 would be assured, and a circulation of as high as 100,000 possible, were sufficient paper available. At the present rate of or sumption, he estimates that sufficient paper is on hand

JIANES CITAGO

THE INDEPENDENCE

On December 7, 1945, the MENDERA press commonced sublication of a daily English language newspaper entitled ENDERENDENT. The masthoad of this paper states also that it incorporates the INDONESIAN NEWS BULLETIN. a former English language newspaper published by ANTARA news agency.

The INDEFENDENT is at present being edited by Mr. Tambu, with some assistance from Mr. Diah, and using the paper and facilities of METDERA.

The first issue of INDEPENDENT was remarkable only for its avoidance of any discussion of local affairs, only two articles. having anything whatshever to do with Java. Questioned about this, Tambu admitted that, while his ultimate ambition was to resch foreign and troop (British) readers, he was besitant about entering headlong into discussion of local affairs and the Mationalist cause, because, (C-3), the British are unfavorably disposed towards MEROMA already, and would use his venture as an excuse to confiscate the entire printing plant, were he too openly partical in his early issues. Within a week or two he topos to be secure enough in the position to start laying more stress on local news and collectals.

The first issue of IEDETENDENT was printed in 400 copies, most of which wore given away, although the stated price is 1 Japanese guilder the copy.

To: Lieutenant Colonel ROCER A. PFAPP

From: John I. Coddington

Subject: HAROLD ROBERT ISAACS

Mr. GEORGE N. KATES of OS3, REA, has just returned to the United States from Chungking. He reached Washington yesterday. He claims to have known HAROLD ROBERT ISAACS quite well in Chungking, and has the following observations to make concerning Mr. ISAACS:

HAROLD ROBERT ISAACS is about 35 years of age. He attended Columbia University, and received the degree of A.B. there in 1930. He is the son of an orthodox Jewish merchant, who is very wealthy, and who has always supported HAROLD, even though he did not approve of the radical views that HAROLD expressed in the 1930:s.

HAROLD went to China immediately after graduation from Columbia, partly, atleast, out of a desire to see strange parts of the world and to experience "adventure." He went out by way of Hawaii, and stowed away for part of the voyage — either between San Francisco and Honolulu, or between Honolulu and Shanghai — Hr. KATES does not remember which. Anyway, this was part of the "adventure."

In China, HAROLD met a South African named FRANK GLASS, who was an "intellectual" and a very interesting person. GLASS was a Leftist, but not at all a Communist. HAROLD took a trip up the Yangtse with GLASS in 1930 or 1931. At about this time, HAROLD became a convert to Trotskyism, partly, at least, under GLASS's influence. He felt that "suffering humanity" required a "revolution" to set things straight. Communism was too organized, and HAROLD was a complete individualist, and reacted strongly against the organizational set-up of Communism, and so espoused Trotskyism. He returned to Shanghai from the mestern part of China, and went to work for

THE HAVAS News Agency. Shortly after this, in Shanghai, he married VICLA ROBINSON, who was, like HARCLD, a wide-eyed intellectual. This marriage probably took place in 1932. VIOLA was a great friend of AGNES SHEDLEY, the author of the Battle Hymnof China and of other books dealing with the Chinese Revolution.

An organization called the China League for Civil Rights was formed about 1932. YANG CH'IEN was the head of this for Central China, and Dr. HU SHIH (later Chinese Ambassador to Washington) was the head of it for North China. YANG was at that time Secretary-General of the Academia Sinica. YANG was soon assassinated by the Blue Shirts (at that time CHING KAI-SHEK's bodyguard). HAROLD ISAACS had been an enthusiastic member of the China League for Civil Rights, and in the atmosphere of turmoil, after the killing of YANG, when all Leftists were under attack by the Kuomintang, HAPOLD became the editor and publisher of the China Forum, a magazine that published a number of controversial articles. The magazine was protected by the fact that the editor was an American, and therefore had extraterritorial rights. Yet the magazine was regarded as a "thorn in the flesh" by Mr. CUNNIKHAM, who was at that time American Consul-General in Shanghai. There were various controversies — the printing shop was broken up by Kuomintang strong-arm men; the mails were refused to the magazine; but he continued publication for some time, and smuggled the copies out to the subscribers.

In 1933 or 1934, ISAACS had a fight with AGNES SWEDLEY. It was an ideological fight, and therefore especially bitter. ISAACS and his wife left Shanghai after this, and moved to Paking. There he acquired a Chinose translator named LIU, and there he settled down to write his book, The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution.

This book "nails the Stalinists to the mast" and shows that they were messing around with a situation in China which they did not understand. Very many people who have read the book consider it excellent.

HAROLD ROBERT ISAACS, continued

The book was completed, and ISAACS and his wife returned to the United States about April or May 1935. Immediately after this, ISAACS made a papid trip to Oslo, Norway, to see his hero, LEON TROTSKY, who was living there at that time. It was on this occasion that he must have undertaken to translate TROTSKY's book, Enither France? ISAACS then returned to New York, and went to work for the HAVAS News Agency once more.

At some time in the late 1930's, he became interested in New York politics, and he worked hard for NORMAN THOMAS.

By 1940, however, he became disgusted with New York politics, and became interested in the war, and in bourgeois life." He and his wife had a baby at about this time (their first), and ISAACS found he could write radio scripts and get good money for them. Up to 1940, he had been living chiefly off his father, but from 1940 on, he began to make money. In 1942, he did a "Report to the Nation" for CBS.

Soon after this, he joined the Staff of News-Week, and in 1944 was sent to Chungking by that magazine. There must have been a certain amount of trouble in convincing the Chinese Central Government that ISAACS had really changed since the old days in Shanghai; but this convication was evidently accomplished, or ISAACS would not have received permission from the Chinese Covernment to go to China.

ISAACS is a very smart ran indeed. He knows a lot about China, and he knows a lot about people in general. Moreover, he is a great deal "smoother" and more diplomatic now than he was ten years ago.

fo:

Lieutenant Colonel ROGER A. PFAFF

from:

John I. Coddington 9.1.6.

Subject: HAROLD ROBERT ISAACS

HARRID ROBERT ISAACS is now the correspondent of Nowsweek magazine in China. His headquarters are in Chungking, but he evidently travels to Kunming, Kweiyang, and other places in the course of his duties. He seems to have arrived in China in his present capacity during the summer of 1944, probably in July.

Subject was born in 1910, and is a member of a wealthy family. He became a firmly convinced Trotskyist in his youth, and remained one till the time of PearlHarbor. He is now regarded as a renegade by his former Trotskyist colleagues, because he has disavowed the principles of world revolution, turned away from Trotsky's teachings, and since 1939 has been writing patriotic propaganda for the United States Government.

He went to China about 1930, and wrote two books dealing with Chinese politics, Fire Years of Kuomintang Reaction (1932), and The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution (1938). Both of these volumes expressed the author's Trotskyist point of view. The first was published in Shanghai, and the second in London. Neither was ever published in the United States, and ISAACS said that the Stalinist Communists were so powerful in this country that they were able to prevent the publication of the Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution here. This book received high praise from many serious students of Far Eastern affairs, including G.F. Hudson, Fellow of All Souls College at Oxford, and author of The Far East in World Politics, who said that ISAACS' book was the test one ever written on the Chinese Revolution. Hudson is now an official of the British Winistry of Information.

ISAACS' non-Communist and non-Trotskyist friends say that even during the

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Labora Carola Cobert

HAROLD ROBERT ISAACS, continued.

height of his Trotskyist career, ISAACS never accepted money from the group. He was always open and above-board, and never engaged in any conspiracies to overthrow established government. He was attracted to the movement, they say, by sheer idealism.

For a time in China, ISAACS lived with Tillman DURDIN, the China correspondent of the New York Times, who was then the managing editor of the China Press. ISAACS returned to the United States in the late 1930's, and was for a time employed by the havas News Agency, until the fall of France in 1940. In 1943, he was employed by Newsweek magazine in Washington, D.C., and resided at 4938 Newport Avenue, Freiddship Heights.

Publications

(a) Books

Pive Years of Kuomintang Reaction (Shanghai, China Forum Publishing Co., 1932), 136 pp. Library of Congress Call No.: DS 777.47.C45

The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution (London, Secker & Warburg, 1938)
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(b) Translations

Lev Trotskii (Leon Trotsky), Whither France, translated by John G. Wright and Harold R. Issacs (New York, Pioneer Publishers, 1936). Library of Congress Call No.: DC 398.77

(c) Articles in Periodicals

"Perspectives of the Chinese Revolution: a Marxist View," Pacific Affairs, vol. 8, pp. 269-283, Sept. 1935.

"Job by Experts," Newsweek, p. 30, 7 Aug. 1944.

"Surprising the Japs," Newsweek, pp. 35-36, 7 Aug. 1944.

"Blowing the Top," Newsweak, pp. 45-6, 4 Sept. 1944.

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HAROLD ROBERT ISAACS, continued

- "One Man's Fight against Corruption: the Story behind the Stilwell Incident,"
 Newswork, p. 44, 13 Nov. 1944
- "Troupers of the CBI," Newsweek, p. 100, 13 Nov. 1944
- "Ignorant Men and Modern Weapons: Inside Story of the Chinese Army," Newsweek, p. 44, 20 Nov. 1944
- "Doath for Kwelyang," Newsweek, p. 36, 18 Dec. 1944
- "Dorn of the Salween," Newsweek, pp. 26-27, 1 Jan. 1946
- "First Truck to Kunming," Newsweek, p. 34, 29 Jan. 1945
- "Ting Hao: Shouts of Welcome met First Convoy to Kunming," Newsweek, pp. 35-36, 12 Feb. 1945

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SI Files #25,443: 6 October 1943

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
630 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 20, N.Y.

10 March 1945

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To

Major General William J Donovan

From

John C Hughes

Subject

Harold R Isaacs

Pursuant to our telephone conversation, I asked Mr Dovechi of this office to check with Alan Grover, Vice President of "Time and Life". One of the men with whom Grover works very closely knows Isaacs intimately. In this man's opinion, Isaacs is a very solid and substantial citizen, knowledgable, hard working and an able correspondent of good character. He states that he has recently had occasion to communicate with Isaacs and that his address is:

Harold R Isaacs War Correspondent U.S.F. CT APO 627 c/o Postmaster, New York

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
630 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 20, N.Y.

CONFIDENTIAL

March 9, 1945

LIFEMORANDUM

TO:

MR. SPENCER PHENIX

FROM:

ROBERT DEVECCHI O OV

Alan Grover, Vice-President of TIME, LIFE, at my request checked with one of the men in his organization who knows harold R. Isaacs personally.

He told Mr. Grover that Mr. Issaes, in his opinion, is a very solid and substantial citizen, knowledgable, hard working, good character, and an able correspondent.

Mr. Isuacs can be reached at the following address:

HAROLD R. ISAACS War Correspondent U.S.F. CT APO 627 c/o Postmaster New York, N.Y.

NY S1- Pers.3

f/4 Box/

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I Break with the Chinese Stalinists

To the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party:
The two-year period of my extra-organizational collaboration
with the Chinese Communist party has come to an end and
the China Forum which I founded and edited during that time
has been forced to suspend publication. In the interest
of our whole movement as well as in my personal interest.
I consider it necessary to record here and publish the
history of the China Forum and the circumstances of its
suspension....

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which I date from the time I began reporting events in China in a communist way - a number of questions presented themselves to me in increasingly forcible form. These areas originally from my discovery of the gross distortions and exaggreations which I found to be characteristic of communist propaganda in China and abroad. I define propaganda as the skillful, clear, accurate and wholly truthful reporting of the facts linked to an incisive, purposive interpretation and a plan of action for dealing with the facts in a revolutionary way. I learned this from the life and work of Lenin and his Bolshevik commades who taught us that the truth comes from the masses themselves and that only disaster can result from telling them lies. I have never learned to the contrary that it was my revolutionary duty to work in any other way, although I soon found that

the present-day Communist party press makes a practise of distinguishing between propaganda and truth.

Examples of exaggeration and distrition most a riking to me were naturally those which applied to China, because here I could check allegations with known facts. I first wrote these down to the ignorance or incapacity of individuals. I felt that communist editors about xuld publish accurate facts about China if they could get them. Accordingly with a friend I tried to set up an independent mail news service and sent weekly building to papers allower the world giving brief, sharp, factual accounts of what was going on. This was in the fall of 1931 after my return from the area of the great Central China floods of that summer. I scarcely understood then why this service failed to secure any response from the communist press abroad. After about three months I had to suspend it for lack of support. It simply didn't get published except in a few organs which were not official Communist party papers, including the Naw York Militant.

It wasn't long before I began to perceive, with a

deeper study of international events and the history of the Chinese revolution, that a constatent thread ran through the distortions and exaggerations which I found not only in brief casual reports of current events but in the solemn pronunciamentoes made by delegates before plenums of the K.G.C.I. I discovered that these departures from the truth were made necessary by the official premise that ever since the catastrophe of 1927 a mighty, upsurging revolutionary movement has been marching forward in China to the very brink of satzure of power under the leadership of the Chinese Communist party. I discovered that these exaggerations were necessary because the premise was false and along with it all the basic teneta of the

politics being pursued by the Communist International and the Communist party in China. I cannot begin here to give a summary of some of these distortions (which I reveally cated to you by the decen), runging from particular incidents (the wilfully false picture given of the cotton mill strike in Shanghai in January 1932, dwen to the point of transcoing it to February to heighten the impression given of the workers' role in the Changhai war) to high-flown generalizations like the statement recently made before the plenum of the B.C.C.I. that the C.C.P. has "won over the majority of the Chinese working class and the possantry"....

In denying the presence of a might revolutionary upsurge (i.e., a west organized march toward the sel-zure of power); I respect facts made still closer perhaps when compared to the facts and figures of the monster mass movements of the 1925-27 period. The tragic errors of the communist leadership in 1927, were primarily responsible for the decapitation of that great movement and because no lessons have been drawn from these events to this very day, these errors, monstrously accumulated, are still responsible for the tragedies of today. But for the purposus of our comparison here, let us take for example the single fact that in 1926 in Greater Shanghai there were 257 strikes. In 1932 there were 82. Let us remember that on the eve of the workers' solver of power in Shanghai in March, 1927, there were more than 800,000 workers, handicrafts and petty traders but on the streets fighting with arms in hands for demands of a far-reaching political character. A close check for the entire country in the latter half of 1933 showed me that less than one-thirtieth of that number were engaged in strikes and other disputes during any given month and that almost invariably the demands were defendive demands against wage outs and lookouts. Moreover, the lack of cohee sive leadership - often in departments of the same factory or in one or more of a group of factories - or even semetimes lack of even the most elementary organization - has in almost every case led to deadening failure and relatively easy betrayal by the yellow "labor leaders" and "mediators" of the Kuo Min Tang. 1925 the shooting of thirteen students by British police in Shanghai was the touch-off for a general strike which paralyzed the city and which was seconded by wast sympathy strikes which broke like a series of tidal waves over the entire country. In January 1932, when the Japanese imperialists used the Shanghai International Settlement as a base for operations. which coat the lives of tene of thousands of Chinese, not a single strike interrupted the normal course of the public or other services in that settlement. In the factories there were no atrikes but a large scale lookout to which the overwhelming majority of Shanghai' workers submitted without protest ..

In the case of the widespread but isolated and individual cases of peasant uprisings, and this includes the Red armice in Kiangei, these struggles await the leadership of a strong working class movement before they can have a successful issue. The Red armics in their restricted and surrounded areas and with their meagre resources have fought heroically against the Kuomintang attacks upon them. But until the Kuo Min Tang is shaken from its bulwarks in the imperialist-controlled working class centers, their prospect of revolutionary triumph remains necessarily dim. No revolutionary purpose is served by taking refuge in the fiction that these armice have proletarian leadership because individual workers, undoubtedly

loaders of superior quality and courage, have been torn from their factories and from their fellow workers and ment cown to occupy key positions in the Red army districts and in the Red armies themselves. Indeed, this common practise of extracting the most conscious and progreenive working class elements from their sorking class environment and sending them down to the Red districts is a good irdex to the criminal transposition of emphasis which has helped paralyze the working class movement in the cities. If the Thite Terror doesn't carry off the workers lenders as they arise, the C.P. does and has done so in hundreds of cases. This helps in no small part to explain why it has also been impossible to mobilize a genuire mass anti-Japanese movement in the face of military aggression and thy the Thite Terror of the Kuo Min Tang has succeeded, by filling mass graves and in-numerable prisons with the martyred dead and living, in downing the anti-imperial set movement or efforts toward the organization of such a movement and paving the way for the ever-increasing enormachments of the imperialists, The party has not yet gripped and directed the deep und bitter and often inarticulate hatred of the masses the people for their oppressors and this includes large sections of the lower potty bourgeoisie who could be won by successful mass pressure from below. This is because they party has fulled to translutothe realities of everyday events into its program and tactics

But precisely because at all costs I desired to carry on the Forum's open struggle against the common enemy - against the Kuo Min Tang and the imperialists - I sedulously avoided bringing these issues into the columns of the paper, increasingly against my better judgment. I leared over far backward in this respect. This expressed itself in many of the current issues with which we had to deal.

I ask you to recall the whole uphill fight which the Forum waged on behalf of Paul and Gerturd Ruegg in the apring and aummer of 1932 during which time I repeatedly warned against the emphasis which was being placed on the "legal" aspects of the case and the "negotiations" with the Kuo Min Tang to the detriment of many pressure and the capitalization of the case for political purposes. You paid lip service to the need for mass pressure particularly here in China - but in fact the "lugalities and futile negotiations remained the major pillars of the defense. Until in the very end I finally rebelled I wasn't even permitted to give Ruegg his honorable and rightful title - secretary of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat! Yet although I felt the struggle for the Rueggs was being seri usly handicapped by the tactics being pursued. I carried on the fight with all the energy at my command and you will recall that it was I who created the local defense committee and was chiefly responsible for the widespread press propaganda campaign and the considerable sympathy which we aroused. non-political attitude which Ruegs was forced to assume at the trial (in contrast to the highly political attitude of his prosecutore!) was in my opinion one of the major reasons for the fate to which he and his wife were condemned.

I ask you to recall the whole period of the organization and activities of the China League for Civil Rights, from December 1932 to June 1933, in which I took an active part. I gave full play to this hybrid League and its work without once publishing the basic criticisms which I often voiced to you and which in the end were wholly confirmed by what happened after the Kao Min Tang murdered Yang Chien in June that year. I ask you to recall the views I set forth in August and September 1923, on the

subject of the "Anti-"ar Congress" which at your specific request I did not sublish. Instead, to my regret, I published the foul rot of Marley & Co. without freely giving play to the true facts about that farcical junket which had convinced me that the policies which gave it birth do not one single whit advance the international struggle against imperialist

On one occasion - and this at least I can take comfort in - I passively resisted when you requested me to write and publish a slanderous attack on Chen Du Hsiu when he was conderned to 13 years imprisonment by the Kuo Min Tang. Your request was specific. I was not to deal with the issues which had brought Chen Du Hoiu from being the leader of the C.P. in 1927 to being leader of the Chinese Opposition in 1933. I was only to string together a wile series of labels in an effort to explain my the Kuo Min Tang even imprisoned the leader of the left Opposition. As you know, that attack was never written or published.

Again in December 1933, upon my return from Bukien, you specifically demanded that I set aside the results of my own personal investigations in Foochow in order to write on your behalf (but over my signature:) an utterly baselessand slandcrous attack on the left Opposition. You will recall that you charged at that time that the "Trutskyiste" were prominently identified with the new government set up in Rukien by Chen Ring-shu and Teal Ting-kai. You lumped the Left Opposition with the Third Party and the socialed Social Democrats among the petty bourgecia satellites of the Fukien militarists. It was as much to satisfy myself on this very point as to perform a mission for you, that I went cown to Foochow and spent two weeks there and learned through direct conspent two weeks there and learned through direct contact with dozens of reoble prominently concerned that the Left Opposition was stoutly and cleurly opposed to the Foothow regime. I haven't place here to discuss the relations of the C.P., to the short-lived Fukien government or the character of the "negotiations" which were going on down thore. The important, this pare to the thorestant to the character of the proportions. thing here is that on my return you demanded that I write slanders which flew in the face of everything I myself had learned. It is interesting, as a side-light on your methods in factional strife as you conceive it, that your representative in Foochow sent back a report, through me, ironically enough, that one of the most prominent of the youthful pseudoradicals in Foothow, du Cui-yuen to be exact, was a leading "Trotskyist". It so happened that I had met and had several longthy interviews with Mu and by the time I left Foochow I understood his position and his personality exceedingly well. He was as much a Trotskyist as Mei Lan-fang is: Yet you actually demanded that I ignore my can knowledge of the man and in my article on Pukien set him down as a "Trotskyist". I was faced on the one hand by your demands that I write falsehoods to suit your policies and on the other by my deep desire to set forth, the actual facts about the Orposition's attitude toward the Fukien regime. But once more, to preserve the shreds of our relationship, I drove a middle course and did neither, leaving the shele question out of my article.

Nevertheless, obruntly in January of this year you forced an ultimatum upon me and subsequently forced the brook in our relationship because I could not and would not, at your demand, devoke the China Forum to policies which I could not and do not believe computible with the interests of the Chinese revolution and the international projectarian revolution. I could not, at your densed, set aside the convictions to which I had literally been driven by the stinging lash of catastrophic events in China, Germany and the world over. Particularly my deep interest in Chinese events during the last three years. made it im ossible for me; finally, to live active sup-port to policies and tactics whose disastrous effects were being a thousandfold confirmed for me by the tragic events of every swiftly passing day. I could not ignore questions which strike at the roots of our work and the

whole atructure of our hopes for a revolutionary future.

Despite the fact that these questions are rocking the entire international today, you denied my right to raise them in print. You demanded more. You demanded that I attack anybody who sid so - primarily the people you call "counter-revolutionary Trotckyists" - the only people she are facing these problems today in a fearless revolutionary way: You demanded that the China Forum revolutionary way . You demanded that the China Forum become a stereotype for the policies and vulgar factional slanders which I could neither then nor now be party to. In reply to my questions on China you simply quoted back at me the lite and half-lies I've been so used to reading in Inprecorr. You even declared: For propaganda purposes a certain amount of exaggeration is nocessary.... and went on amazingly to day: but we know the take facts. and we base our policies on them, not on those exactera-tions!" A new slant on modern-day C.I. tac'ics! Pacts. you say are durious things. They have to be turned around and around and around and examined closely until their true nature becomes apparent. The trouble is you turn them so far and so quickly that they turn into some-thing like a dizzily turning top of fancy - or at best with-fulfilling misrepresentations

To my questions on Germany you quoted Heckert, Piatritaky and the B.C.C.I.'s famous resolution declaring that the collapse of the German party and the sisughter of the German workers were based on the past, present and future correct policies of the C.P.G.: You declared I had no right to offer critical comment on the danger usly opportunistic foreign and domestic policies of the U.S.S.R. most notably on the entry of the U.S.S.R. on a straight matichalist basis into the diagusting corridors of imperialist intrigue. To the contrigue I was livingly, fawningly to founds and hail the policies which have meant diagnets in China. Germany and elsewhere and are rapidly loading the U.S.S.R. into the macuum of nationalist isolation from the world-wide proletarian movement. This I was to do; to begin with; by publishing Stalin's face on the front page and columns of the customary penegyrics to his infallibility. Above all and before all. I was to take up cudgels against "counter-revolutionary to take up cudgele against "counter-revolutionary Trotaky ism". That was to be the main point of my re-formation - to raise no Questions myself and slander anybody else who did so.

In reply to your demand that I submit to an editorial board in order that these editurial policies should be offsetively put into practise. I offered (1) to continue publication strictly as before, meanwhile arguing out my differences with you in discussions on the side: (2) to throw the columns of the Forum open to a general discussion

- Marie Committee

of all basic revolutionary questions, with free play to unorthodox as well as orthodox views. If your views were correct, I argued, it would be a distinct advanting to you to have such an opportunity to display their brilliance alongside the puny efforts of your critics; (3) to publish orthodox news and views but to reserve for myself the right to comment and criticise.

These repeated offers you repeatedly refused. You offered to discuss these questions with me verbally if in the meanwhile I threw the Forum open to your editorial board. My other proposals were unthinkable! Give the Forum's readers a chance to hear "counter-revolutionary" viewpoints? Never that I I could only display my revolutionary purity by acceding to your demands. For would talk things over until spring, when if all went well (i.e. if I showed a satisfactory adaptation to your viewpoint) I could pack up for an educational trip to the Soviet Union where I would certainly occume convinced of the error of my ways. In other words, you wanted my signature on a premissory note with the amount left blank for you to fill in. You put this in the form of an ultimatum and you told me that if I did anything but accopt I would forthwith enter the camp of the "counter-revolution".

I had to refuse these terms. I had to refuse to lend myself to a standerous and baseless struggle against the International Left Opposition. I had to refuse to land space to the nauseatingly fawning praise of Stalin and uncritical reception of Stalinist policies which characterize the Communist party press the world over. I had to refuse to take shelter in the cold and draughty empty spaces which stretch benind the impressive facade and early traditions of the Communist International. I would like to go to the Soviet Union for a visit one day but I had to refuse your offer on your terms. I had to refuse, in short, to become a hack prostitute in the name of the revolution.

In the end, too, I had to refuse to turn over to you the printing plant I had built up with so much pain and struggle because I considered it not your property but the property of the working class movement. Because I could not carry on the Porum myself, for lack of financial resources and because of heavy dobts contracted. I disposed of the plant and turned every farthing of the proceeds over to where I now consider the take interests of our movement lie. It was with a deep and apiding bitterness that I had to see the Forum go down under the blows of those whom I had considered comrades, when for two years it had fought off all its many enomies on the outside.

Yet with it came the realization that we have to build anew over the ruins you have wrought. The revolution and the building of our future moves forward and when we trample down the defenses of our enemies we shall crush underfoot everything and everybody that stunde in our way. Me sycophantic, blind allegiance to a name, an empty facade, a tem and shredded prestige can lead us forward. Only uneverving fidelity to our goal and active struggle toward this end with the weapons of a correct and tested political line will lift as from defeat to ultimate wietery. To this struggle I shall continue to dedicate all my energies.

Peiping, China, May 20, 1934.

Rarold R. ISAACS.

COURTRIES

1901-1936

China (988 786)

1954 Harold Robert Isaacs working Mil Contra for Intranati Studios (dornica)

"Five Tears of Numerican Reaction", a 13 page parallet published in 1932 at Shanghai, lists ISAACS as Editor. The pamphlet consists of reprints of articles which appeared in the "China Forum" by "anonymous authors and collaborators". The pamphlet denounces the Kuomintang and DHIANG Kairshek for alleged massacre of its political opponents, chiefly Communists, in order "that the bourgeoisio might continue to rule and the imperialists to draw their tribute from the capitalization of human misery". Chinese Communists are seen as the hope of the future. ISAACS continues to reside at 333 Central Ferk West, NIC, and is employed as free lance journal lat, as of 12 May 53. DFB-27426.

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	ISAACS REFERENCES: Dossier 201-1844.	Ь
7	Shanghai Luncipal Police Files, 203 138, Photo # 177. File 16-4-2-y5	٠.
	1461,11 May 1950.4gnes Smedley file, 201-414	87v.av
	7864, 28 Feb 1951. Enclosing info re Richard SONGE gathered from FBI intervi	9W
	11880, 11 Sept 51, 201-6556-1 Presently living in NYC-15017, 15 Jan. 52; 201-6556-4; no new info. -1/23, 20 Pec 1951, C1-90/6-1, Subj member of an Aid Cornittee to the Secret the Feet Feet Train Secretarist (FOLLSES) in Shanchaileland with Armed SETDLYT, Irene http://www.j. postil, Edgar Svow, Frenk GLAS Shanghai Municipal Police Files, 208-1811, 16-4-2-37, 5 Feb 49.	, i e
	7/3, 24 August 1050, CCl-9//6-2	
	747, 8 Jan 1952, 20120780-1 re APPMANN, Morris Louis - 27426-12 June 53, 201-18446-4	



ISAACS, H Probably Harold RODELT

@ JACOB. FBI think that there is a possibility that the JACOB, an unidentified young Amer journalist in Shanghai in 1931, 32 who was a member of the SORGE network in China might possibly be identical with ISAACS, ISAACS inself has advised that he doe not believe that he could have been the indiv to whom SORGE gave the covern JACOB (7864)

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10-4-2-57, 5 Feb 99: Shanghai Municipal Pol Files.)

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ISAACS

The July 30 1632 issue of the AT Times under a Shanghal dateline of 29 July 1932, states that Harold R ISAACS, an American citizen was named by the US Consul General in Shanghai that the US may withdraw its extra-Terretorial rights and allow him to be tried in a Chinese court. ISAACS then the editor of the "China Forum," had violently attacked Chinas Erai Shell, calling him, among other things, " a butcher." The article further stated that ISAACS was an associate of Agnes Shells, a correspondent for American newspapers [1461]

One Harold Robert ISAACS was born 13 Sept 1910; 519" tall, med build, br eyes, & blach wavy hair brushed back. Born in NYC, And citizen. Editor & publisher of the China Forum. Was seey of NOVLETS Defense Committee & member of Society of Freinds of USSE Arrived in China from Manfila on 10 Dec 30 & joined editorial staff of Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury. On 12 June 31, took trip on Yangtszo with C.F.GLASS, susp Sov agent, & wrote his fiances he decided to turn "Red" as a result of talking with GLASS. The 2 returned in Aug & took up residence at #128 Weihaiwei Road. Started printing Forum later. Manager of Level Printing C., Inc in MY Stato & owned 40% of its shares. Employed with ment Bldg., Shanghai. In 3 Jan 34 Subj visited NOVIETS who were on hunger strike in published art in New Militant, organ of MY Districts Worker's Party attacking STALIN. ISAACS was also lecturing on Japan, China, and USSR & Mar Crisis in Far East. (ZCS-1911, 16-4-2-37, 5 Feb 59; Shanghai Municipal Fol Files.)

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In article by ISAMCE The Diameters of the Crists" in the "Saturday Review",

& Morest 1951, states, "The Asian origin is not created by Russian tetalitarisation, but
is asyloided by \$15" and cakes the point that revolt of colonial peoples is Asia
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Intalitarisation in Arabia of the Aserican Anchony", July 1951, states that push
activities of the Asterian action is orient here for each threet, were cally
responsible for rice of tonalitarisation. In the "Saturday Review of Literature" of
Is July 1952, 539525 reviewed "Journey to the For Posific by Gore, Thomas E. DERRY,
Criticised book for superficiality and for Fosonweading may salitary solutions to
problem of Crismi. See DES-20008 dated 2 overshor 1953 in 'I (201-18446).

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